MEMOIRS AND TRAVELS

OF

MAURITIUS AUGUSTUS COUNT DE BENYOWSKY.

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THE

MEMOIRS AND TRAVELS

OF THE

COUNT DE BENYOWSKY.

CONTINUATION OF THE JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE FROM THE PENINSULA OF KAMCHATKA TO MACAO IN CHINA.

MONDAY, Auguſt 15th, 1771: the veſſel aground at the Iſland of Uſmay Ligon. After a lethargic ſleep of four hours, I was awakened by the care of my aſſociates, who had uſed continual friction. As ſoon as I recovered my ſenſes, Mr. Panow informed me that we were on an Iſland inhabited by a people in a high ſtate of civilization, from whom I was about to receive a viſit; and a very ſhort time after, Mr. Cruſtiew acquainted me that two of the iſlanders were then at the entrance of

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my tent. I received them in the beſt manner I could, and was in hopes of making myſelf underſtood in the Japaneſe language, by means of Mr. Boſcarew, whom I ordered to be called. All our efforts, however, were entirely uſeleſs. They only ſhook their heads, as a ſign that they did not underſtand us: but one of them preſented a paper to us, on which I perceived ſome Latin letters. I received it with avidity, and it was with great pleaſure that I read its contents in the Latin language to the following purport.

"THE Health of our Lord Jeſus to the Reader."

"In the year 1749, on the 24th of May, I arrived in this iſland, with three other companions of the ſociety of Jeſus, and being hoſpitably received by the inhabitants, I fixed my abode here to propagate the word of God. The chiefs of this iſland ſpeak the Mandarin language, and have ſhewn the moſt ardent deſire to be inſtructed in the Catholic Religion, which is the only good and ſatisfactory worſhip. Their zeal proceeded ſo far as to induce them to aſſiſt me in the laborious charge of propagating the faith, and by the miraculous aſſiſtance of the holy patron of the company of Jeſus, I had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing two hundred and ſixty Neophites baptiſed the firſt year, whoſe zeal, conſtancy, and patience have confirmed my hopes. In the year 1750 my other three brothers repaired to the adjacent iſlands, and there is no doubt but that they performed their duty with as much zeal as myſelf. In the year 1754, finding myſelf oppreſſed with illneſs, I thought proper to communicate the preſent declaration to the

the chiefs of the iſland, in order that they might give the moſt neceſſary information to thoſe of the Company of Jeſus, who might be conducted by Providence to this iſland, to enable them to employ their zeal and ſtrength for the good of chriſtianity, by promulgating the name of our Saviour among this people, who are ſober, and of good manners, and live in the moſt abſolute independence, both of China and Japan. Excepting ſome merchant veſſels of thoſe nations, no other have ever been ſeen here. Nevertheleſs I have ſeen Dutch veſſels paſs at a very ſmall diſtance from this iſland. A. M. D. G. B. V. M. E. S. P. N. I. Done the 18th September, 1754, at the Iſland Uſmay Ligon."

IGNATIO SALIS, Miſſionary to the Indies, of the Society of Jeſus, and of the Portugueſe Nation.

After I had peruſed this paper, I returned it to the perſon from whom I received it. But I firſt kiſſed it, which mark of reſpect ſeemed to have conciliated their eſteem: they gave us to underſtand by ſigns that they were deſirous of returning to inform their countrymen of the news. After their departure, finding myſelf entirely recovered, I went out to ſee the ſituation of the work, and I had the ſatisfaction to find that the veſſel was entirely unladen. But my grief was extreme to ſee that all our furs were rotten. I gave orders therefore to open all the packages, and expoſe the whole to the air, with a view to ſave at leaſt, part. I charged Mr. Baturin to ſuperintend this

buſineſs, as it related to the only reſource on which we could depend, when we ſhould arrive at China. On the approach of night, we appointed a guard and centinels, and the night paſſed in the moſt profound tranquility.

At day break I was informed that other inhabitants of the country had preſented themſelves, to the number of three hundred, without arms, each perſon having nothing but a paraſol in his hand. Two chiefs, who preceded them, approached me, and after having made the ſign of the croſs, they preſented their hands, and then exhibited to me an old Breviary, which was borne upon a carpet by four men. By the inſcription I ſaw that the Breviary had belonged to the Miſſionary Salis, and in order to join in the reſpect theſe iſlanders ſhewed to the memory of that Jeſuit, I likewiſe kiſſed this book. I then gave orders to my companions to bring a large crucifix, which they had taken out of the Church of Bolſha. I directed them to preſent it to the iſlanders. It was covered with a veil, and as ſoon as this was raiſed, the iſlanders fell on their knees, and raiſing their hands towards heaven, cried out Hiſos, Hiſos, Chriſtos, Chriſtos, and as I ſaw that they would not riſe as long as the crucifix was before them, I cauſed it to be removed; whereupon the two chiefs aroſe, and embraced me alternately, and gave me to underſtand that their friendſhip was ſincere. It was unfortunate that we could not make ourſelves underſtood by words, and we found much difficulty in the uſe of ſigns. I ſucceeded however in explaining, by my ſigns and geſtures, that our veſſel was damaged, and that we were in want of habitations and freſh proviſions.

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Having thus comprehended my requeſt, they left me; and in the courſe of an hour we ſaw ſeveral boats arrive, which brought mats and wood, and others with people on board, who came to build huts for us. Another party of the iſlanders arrived with rice, potatoes, bananas, ſugar-canes, a kind of brandy, with proviſions of fiſh, fleſh, and fruit. Theſe immediately ſet to work to cook for us all. Laſtly, about noon, another party arrived with carpenter's tools, and gave us to underſtand that they were diſpoſed to aſſiſt us, by working on board. I was deſirous however that the company ſhould have ſome reſt, and therefore made ſigns that the work would not begin till two days after.

According to the Report, five ſick: the veſſel aground at the iſland Uſmay Ligon.

Tueſday, Auguſt the 16th: the whole company was buſied in aſſiſting the natives of the country to conſtruct cabins, in which four of the aſſociates might lodge together, or two officers. One hut was built for myſelf alone, at the head of the camp, about which we raiſed a paliſade, flanked with four cannon.

The inconvenience we ſuffered in not being able to make ourſelves underſtood by the iſlanders, induced me to give orders to all the company who could write, to make a kind of Dictionary of Ruſſian words, and enquire their ſignification from the natives in their own language. This appeared to me to be the only practicable means of making ourſelves underſtood.

At two o'clock dinner was ſerved up to the company. It conſiſted of rice, bananas, and potatoes, ſtewed with fleſh; and our new cooks informed us that the cuſtom

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of the country was to make three meals a day. For drink they gave us a kind of hydromel and arrack.

This day, being desirous of regulating every thing which concerned our interest, I caused the work to be renewed on board by fourteen associates, under the command of Mr. Czurin: Mr. Kuzneczow undertook to repair the sails and rigging: Mr. Baturin, took charge of the cargo: Mr. Crustiew undertook to look to our subsistence: the military service was put under the command of Mr. Panow, and I undertook to treat with the natives of the country, whose good and amiable character often excited in me the desire of sharing with them an easy and happy life. For the island was exceedingly fertile; the climate though hot, appeared excellent, and the people were independent. These were powerful motives to a man who was weary of being the sport of fortune: but unfortunately the hour of my repose was not yet arrived, and it was necessary for me to bear the burthen of the charge I had undertaken.

In the evening several islanders came to me, and being seated, they often repeated the word Dzignaro, raising their hands towards the sky. Mr. Panow was the first who suspected that they meant to pronounce Ignatio, and in fact when they attempted to repeat that word, they always said Dzignaro. The respect with which they pronounced this name, convinced me that the Missionary had skillfully availed himself of their dispositions to impress them with the most profound reverence for his religion. They left me at last with much regret. After their departure I collected the different notes of the names of things which had been made in the language of the country, according

my orders, and I had the ſatisfaction to find, that their number amounted to above a hundred, which could not fail of proving highly uſeful. Mr. Kuzneczow requeſted permiſſion to make an excurſion over the iſland with ſome of the aſſociates; but I refuſed him that ſatisfaction, at the ſame time obſerving, that I was apprehenſive of giving occaſion to ſome miſunderſtanding between our people and the natives.

The night paſſed in a ſtate of tranquility, and in the morning I was viſited by an iſlander of diſtinction, whom I then ſaw for the firſt time. He was attended by a number of others, among whom I perceived ſeveral of our earlier friends; and as all the natives ſhewed him the moſt profound veneration, I judged it proper likewiſe to pay a particular attention to him. He was clothed in a robe of ſky blue taffeta, with a long cloak of white ſilk, a black ſaſh, and wooden ſlippers, covered with ſatin. On his head he wore a kind of hat of a very fine fur. When he came near me he likewiſe made the ſign of the croſs, and took me by the hand. I did the ſame, and as I had learned ſome words of the language, I ſaluted him, by pronouncing the word *Tho*. He inclined his head, and ſmiled at my embarraſſment. But I was greatly ſurpriſed to hear him ſpeak to me in very bad Portugueſe, though ſufficient to make himſelf underſtood. He ſaid, *Sinor eo ſono Tunqunio vay con Padre Dzignaro eſtas Iſlas Uſma Padre vay morte eo ſies a ca Capiton di Genté*. I comprehended that he meant to inform me that he was a native of Tonquin, who came to thoſe iſlands with Father Ignatio, and that the father being dead, he remained, and was chief of the people. This diſcovery of the power of making myſelf

myſelf underſtood gave me the higheſt pleaſure. I ſeized the immediate occaſion to expreſs my joy. He then demanded if I was deſirous of ſeeing the tomb of Dzignaro; and upon my anſwering in the affirmative, he appointed three old men of diſtinction to accompany me. But as it was neceſſary to croſs the bay, we embarked in the ſhallop, with Meſſrs. Panow, Kuzneczow and Baturin.

Our conductors directed us to the mouth of a river, where the ſhallop, not being able to enter, we anchored, and the natives called boats, which ſet us on ſhore. On our landing we found about fifty perſons of both ſexes, who kneeled down, and cried *Ilo Dzignaro*, (The Friend of Ignatio.) Our conductors then led us to a garden, where we found an old man, buſied in collecting flowers and plants. He introduced us into a very neat and well-built hut, and entertained us with tea, but without ſugar. Our conductors then ſpoke privately with him, who immediately made a ſign to us to follow him, and led us to a ſmall hill, which overlooked a very agreeable valley, regularly planted with pulſe and ſugar canes. When we arrived at the ſummit we found a ſmall ſquare building, in the interior part of which we ſaw an altar, and upon it a crucifix, and an image of St. Mary, which, though very ill executed, was diſtinguiſhed by the creſcent beneath her feet, and the crown on her head. I obſerved the letters upon the crown which are repreſented in fig. 1, plate 16.

The guardian of the chapel ſhewed me likewiſe two urns, in which the aſhes of Dzignaro (Father Ignatio) were contained. At going out of the chapel I could clearly diſtinguiſh the letters I. H. S. O. H. M. D. G.

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B. V. M. O. S. Nque JESU, Anno 1751. I likewiſe obſerved ſome verſes, but the writing was ſo much decayed that I could not make out a ſingle line.

After having viſited the ſacred monuments of thoſe people, I returned home, where I learned, with the greateſt ſatisfaction, that the damages of the veſſel would be eaſily repaired, and that our people was employed in making new pumps, the old ones being unfit for ſervice. Mr. Czurin having likewiſe informed me that the main top ſail yard was ſprung, I gave him orders to ſearch in the woods for a piece to replace it, but I was anſwered that the natives had brought ſeveral pieces exceedingly proper for the purpoſe. This day I gave orders for diſtributing pieces of ſilk and cotton to the company, to make ſhirts, frocks, and trowſers, in order that they might all have an uniform appearance. Mr. Winbladth, who, notwithſtanding my prohibition, had made an excurſion, informed me, that he had ſeen very handſome habitations and villages, and had obſerved large quantities of different fruits, ſuch as cocoa nuts, oranges, lemons, pine-apples, bananas, water melons, ſweet mellons, grapes, potatoes, rice, maize, millet, peas, and other pulſe; and that in the plantations he had ſeen bee-hives, ſugar-canes, tobacco and cotton. He aſſured me beſides that he had viſited a manufactory of pottery and a diſtillery of ſpirits; and added, that all the women in the villages were buſied in making ſtuffs, either of ſilk or cotton. I verified this information myſelf the ſame day, and my ſtay upon this fortunate iſland increaſed my ardent deſire to form an eſtabliſhment there.

According to the Report, two ſick: the ſhip under repair.

Wedneſday, Auguſt the 17th, we had ſcarcely finiſhed our repaſt, when the Tonquin Captain arrived; I informed him of my wiſhes, and the advantageous idea I had formed of the happineſs of this people. He replied, that it depended only on myſelf, whether I ſhould fix my reſidence among them, and that if I choſe it, he would propoſe to the nation to give me a tract of land; but in the firſt place he was deſirous of knowing who I was; how we came to the iſland, &c. I told him the truth, and my narration, though it was impoſſible he ſhould well underſtand it, affected him ſo much, that he wept, and offered me his friendſhip. It was, doubtleſs, with a view to repay my confidence, that he likewiſe related his adventures, which were to the following effect.

He was born at Tonquin, of a free family and ſtudied at Siam in the college of Miſſionaries. He afterwards, accompanied a Miſſionary to China, who joining himſelf with three others, at Nankin, embarked together with himſelf in a Chineſe veſſel, called a Sampan, which conveyed them to one of the iſlands of Uſmay. Father Ignatio eſtabliſhed himſelf, at this Iſland, Uſmay Ligon, and the others departed for other iſlands. He afterwards gave a full account of the means employed by Father Ignatio to convert the iſlanders to Chriſtianity, and proteſted that the ſaid Father enjoyed a ſupreme power in this iſland, until his death; after which the iſlanders forced him to marry among them. He obſerved that they had the greateſt veneration for himſelf; but he declared that it was not in conſequence of any particular right attached to his perſon, as the government of the iſland depended on an aſſembly of old men, to which the chiefs of the families of the neighbouring iſlands were often invited. This form of government ſurprized me, and I could

could not avoid aſking a thouſand queſtions, which led me to a juſt idea of the conſtitution and government of this people, of which I propoſe to give a note at the end of the Journal of my happy reſidence on this iſland. Our diſcourſe was interrupted by the arrival of a troop of iſlanders, whom my friend Nicholas informed of my deſire to eſtabliſh myſelf amongſt them: this declaration was very agreeable to them, for they aſſured me that they would divide their poſſeſſions with us, inſtruct us in the manner of working and tilling the ground, and would give us their daughters in marriage. But as I ſaw that the idea of our eſtabliſhment gave them great ſatisfaction, and was aware that in order to form a colony it was neceſſary I ſhould be provided with a ſet of men, very different from my preſent companions; I thought it proper to inform them that my eſtabliſhment could not take place until two years were elapſed, which were neceſſary for me to return to Europe, and return back again. I found no difficulty in bringing theſe eſtimable people to my wiſh; the open ſimplicity of their anſwers ſhewed their virtuous and innocent diſpoſitions. They aſſured me that they would pray to God for my happy voyage, and quick return, and that during my ſtay I might conſider them as my brothers.

After this declaration, they demanded, why I did not come among them, nor permit my companions to live with them in a cordial manner. I declared to Nicholas that my only apprehenſion was that our good intelligence might be interrupted by the inconſiſtency of my companions, who might diſpleaſe the iſlanders by careſſing their women. But he ſet my mind at eaſe in that reſpect, by

informing me that they were at liberty to connect themſelves with the girls, provided they abſtained from the married women, who were known by a veil which covered them. Upon this aſſurance, I promiſed that from thenceforth, conſidering the natives of this iſland as our brothers, we would viſit them. But I preſſed M. Nicholas to make my excuſes for not having politely informed the ladies before hand, and apologized by freely telling my reaſons, and the fears I had entertained. The iſlanders anſwered laughing, that their daughters were younger than their wives, and that therefore I had no reaſon to fear their diſpleaſure on that account.

After this explanation, the iſlanders retired, no doubt for the purpoſe of acquainting their families, with the intention that they might receive us with kindneſs. When they were gone, I aſſembled the company, communicated my apprehenſions to them, and required of each individual a ſolemn promiſe to behave with the utmoſt circumſpection to theſe iſlanders; and having received their oaths, I declared that they were free to viſit the whole iſland, provided one third of their number always remained at work. This news produced univerſal joy among them, and they immediately diſperſed themſelves, but without arms, as I had cauſed them to leave their arms with me. In the evening a meeting was held, conſiſting of Mr. Cruſtiew, Panow, Kuzneczow, Baturin, Winbladth, Meder, Gurceſinin and Czurin, where we debated on the means of deriving advantage from the diſcovery and knowledge we had acquired of this fortunate iſland. We determined that the diſpoſition of our companions rendered it impoſſible to leave any of them behind; for I was deſirous of leaving a party

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in order to diſpoſe the minds of the natives to receive a colony in future. Being thus diſappointed in my hopes, I felt the moſt lively regret at not being able to profit by ſo favourable an occaſion; and after having diſmiſſed the meeting, I was plunged in a ſeries of reflections which were exceedingly diſtreſſing.

At day break I repaired to the neareſt village, which was not above a quarter of an hour's walk from our camp; but concealed by a thick wood. Upon my arrival near the encloſure, I was received in a ſmall building of wood, from which I could eaſily ſee all the houſes in the village. It conſiſted of about eighty houſes, each having a court-yard before, it with a garden and ſeveral huts, or out-houſes. All the houſes were conſtructed of wood, and covered with planks, and formed a ſingle, wide, and handſome ſtreet, bordered on each ſide by very lofty and tufted trees. Upon entering the village I met Nicholas, who conducted me to his houſe, before which all the people were aſſembled. He aſked me if I was diſpoſed to make choice of a girl, but, as I replied in the negative, he declared that my companions were of a better compoſition; and, in fact, I found few of them who were not accompanied by young women, ſome of whom were real beauties. My friend Nicholas regaled us with tea, and engaged the iſlanders to form matches at wreſtling, at which they are very expert, and afterwards the young women danced to the ſound of ſeveral ſtringed inſtruments. Theſe amuſements laſted till the repaſt was ſerved up in the court-yard of the houſe, which was a ſquare encloſure, ſurrounded with trees. Every head of a family cauſed diſhes, ready dreſſed, to be brought from his own houſe, and the whole was conducted in ſuch a manner that

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every one contributed his ſhare, without the charge falling upon any individual. The women eat ſeparately, and the young women waited on both parties.

At the end of our meal, the juice of ſugar cane, which we drank, was mixed with a kind of ſpirit made from rice. This drink was very ſtong and exhilerating. From one ſubject to another, our converſation at laſt returned to the propoſal made to me to chooſe one of their young women, which was again urged, and at laſt ſo ſtrongly preſſed, that I could not avoid ſaying that I was willing to make my choice at that time, but ſhould reſerve the accompliſhment of my marriage till I returned. I had ſcarcely ſaid this, before the chiefs aroſe, and the whole company diſappeared, and left me alone with my friend Nicholas, by whom I was informed that the iſlanders were gone to nominate ſeven young women to be preſented to me, in order that I might chooſe a wife from among them. In fact, we had ſcarcely time to take a ſurvey of his court-yard, his garden, and the ſmall houſes of his women, (for a plurality of wives is eſtabliſhed and conſtitutional, notwithſtanding the religion of Father Ignatio) before we were informed of the arrival of the iſlanders.

The old men firſt ſeated themſelves upon mats in the court, forming a circle. Seven women, whoſe faces were covered, led each a young woman, clothed from head to foot in white ſilk, with a blue ſaſh; their hair flowed looſe on their ſhoulders, and was interwoven with flowers. When the ſeven young women entered the circle, my friend Nicholas led me likewiſe there, and requeſted me to ſit down and examine theſe charming objects, in order to determine my choice. During this interval, one of the old men pronounced

pronounced a diſcourſe of ſome length, which he ended by preſenting me with a veil, and by the mediation of Nicholas, he gave me to underſtand, that I was requeſted to cover her with it, on whom my affections were fixed. The choice would have been rather difficult, if it had really been incumbent on me to decide; for there were three among them who might have diſputed the preference with the moſt perfect work of living nature. But as my embarraſſment was only imaginary, I aſked my friend whether my choice would not offend the others, and upon his anſwering in the negative, I threw the veil over one of them. The others immediately began to dance round her, and careſs her, and at laſt conducted her out of the houſe to the ſtreet, where ſhe was preceded by muſical inſtruments. My friend Nicholas informed me that this ceremony would laſt upwards of an hour, becauſe the young woman would be conducted to every houſe, to announce her own marriage, and receive preſents. In the mean time the chiefs were regaled with tea, and ſmoked tobacco.

About five o'clock I ſaw the new married lady return, conducted by her mother, who was about four or five and thirty years of age, and they were accompanied by a reſpectable old man, who was grandfather to the young woman. This old man made a ſpeech, and embraced me; the mother put her daughter into my hands, and leaving her with me, they diſappeared ſuddenly, as did likewiſe the reſt of the chiefs. Nicholas then acquainted me that I muſt myſelf conduct the young lady to his houſe, in which he aſſiſted me, by leading the way. At the door of this houſe ſhe quitted me, and Nicholas attended me back to the camp.

During our walk, he informed me, that the newly married young woman was the daughter of a very devout chriſtian

chriſtian mother, who had been conſtantly attached to Father Ignatio; and as he had mentioned his grandfather to me without telling the name of his father, I queſtioned him poſitively on the ſubject. He at firſt affected concealment, but at laſt confeſſed that Seignior Dzignaro was his father, and he had likewiſe two elder ſiſters, who were among the ſeven preſented to me for my choice. He informed me that the young perſon I had choſen was named Tinto Volangta, (or luminous moon) and that I might certainly expect her ſoon at my own place of reſidence. He then left me, after promiſing to come again to viſit me in the morning.

As ſoon as I found myſelf alone, I informed my companions of my adventure, and ſeveral of them determined to paſs the night with me, in order to avoid certain embarraſſments; and to anſwer this purpoſe more effectually, I requeſted all the female companions of our voyage to be preſent, to amuſe thoſe who might come from the village. At nine o'clock I was acquainted with the arrival of a body of young women, who came towards our camp ſinging. Their number amounted to twenty, and they were received and introduced by our women. But as ſoon as Tinto Volangta entered my hut, the others retired, ſo that I found myſelf under the neceſſity of having a female companion. It was a fortunate circumſtance that one of our lady paſſengers was greatly intereſted by the young iſlander, and gave her much entertainment by ſinging and muſic; but the reſt of our converſation was pantomime.

The break of day ſurpriſed us without ſleep, except the Uſmayan lady, who fell aſleep about eight o'clock. When ſhe awoke, two other young women attended to dreſs her, and afterwards ſtaid with her. At ten my friend Nicholas

arrived with a numerous company. I went out to meet them, and upon being informed that they came to make a treaty, or oath, I gave immediate orders for aſſembling our company. The heads of the contract were, that the inhabitants of Uſmay Ligon, ſhould acknowledge me as their friend, and that I ſhould engage in an attachment to them. That as I was about to leave them, only with the intention of returning to form an eſtabliſhment among them, they would clear a piece of land on the Southern part of the iſland, and build a village, of two hundred houſes, for the accommodation of myſelf, and thoſe who might come with me. And laſtly, that on my return to Uſmay, I ſhould conform to all the uſages and laws of my friends.

Theſe articles being ratified by the invocation of God, the creator of all things, I thought it incumbent on me to make my new countrymen a preſent. Accordingly I gave them eighty muſquets, twenty barrels of powder, ten barrels of ball, ſix hundred Japaneſe ſabres, ſix hundred lances, and twelve hundred different articles of iron work. This preſent was highly valuable to them, for they had not above ten muſquets on the iſland, and thoſe had matchlocks. It was a very unfortunate circumſtance that I could not leave a detachment on this iſland.

According to the Report one ſick: the ſhip under repair, careening.

Thurſday, Auguſt 18. About two in the evening, the iſlanders brought ten oxen, forty hogs, a quantity of rice, millet, and other proviſions. On this day likewiſe, having, by the credit of Nicholas, brought the chiefs to liſten to my reaſons, I ſent Tinto Volangta back to her mother's houſe, whom I loaded with preſents from the Japaneſe prize. As

to my friend Nicholas, I made him a conſiderable preſent of furs, though I had but a ſmall quantity remaining, the ſea water having damaged almoſt all the packages. In the evening I informed the iſlanders of my approaching departure, at which they were greatly affected, and expreſſed their regret on the occaſion. The open and benevolent character of this eſtimable people, was ſuch as will make me ever regret that I could not fix my abode here, where the vices and wickedneſs of Europe are yet unknown, and the government is founded only upon the principles of humanity.

After the departure of the iſlanders, I ordered my people to float the veſſel, and get the cargo on board. Our work commenced the next day. At nine o'clock, five of the aſſociates appeared before me, and demanded permiſſion to remain upon the iſland. I ſaw that their reſolution was fixed; and having reaſon to fear that they might excite a greater number of the company to the ſame determination, I repreſented to them that they were wrong in taking ſuch a reſolution at this time, as they were ſure of returning: for I proteſted to them that I would uſe every exertion, when we arrived in Europe, to obtain a proper armament to eſtabliſh a colony on the iſland. At firſt they ſeemed diſpoſed to quit their purpoſe; but one of them, named Lapſiew, declared that it was only a loſs of time to attempt to diſſuade them, as they were determined not to change their mind; and therefore, that if I were diſpoſed to give them a proof of my friendſhip, I might ſhew it by leaving them a ſupply of tools, arms, and ammunition. I promiſed this to make them eaſy; but I made them ſwear that they would not ſeduce any others of the company.

When

When they were gone, I aſſembled a Committee, to whom I communicated the deſire of the five men. The Committee referred the buſineſs to the General Meeting, which was immediately convened, and their deciſion was, that leave ſhould be given them to remain on the iſland. Three others joined them, and M. Stephanow was likewiſe deſirous of remaining; but the others refuſed him, ſaying, that as they had taken their reſolution for no other reaſon than to live in peace, they would not have an incendiary among them.

In conſequence of this reſolution of the meeting, I ordered Mr. Cruſtiew to divide what we could ſpare, into eight lots, in order that every ſubſequent controverſy between our companions who were to remain behind, might be prevented by a proper diviſion made in our preſence. At eleven, we ſaw three large barks enter the harbour, where they anchored. My friend Nicholas informed me, that they were Japaneſe, from the coaſt of China, who were driven in by ſtreſs of weather. He requeſted, that I would invite them to come on ſhore, which they did, bringing with them a preſent of tea, porcelain, and ſome pearls.

Auguſt 19. This day we were viſited by upwards of one thouſand iſlanders, every one bringing ſome preſent. The whole amounted to upwards of one thouſand eight hundred ells of cloth, two hundred and five paraſols, with a quantity of china veſſels, and ſome ivory figures, ornamented with gold. In the evening, by the mediation of Nicholas, I recommended to the iſlanders thoſe companions who had determined to remain, and they all proteſted that they would receive and acknowledge them as friends

and brothers, and give them a ſhare of their lands and poſſeſſions. In this manner I ſecured their reſpective intereſts. At four o'clock I gave orders for going on board. The value of my cargo was ſo much reduced, that out of a million and a half of piaſtres which I expected to receive at China, I had ſcarcely ſufficient to realize twenty or twenty-five thouſand piaſtres. The night was employed in work; and at day-break I had the ſatisfaction to ſee all my people on board. I judged it proper to aſſure myſelf of the diſpoſition of the iſlanders, by a formal oath and contract, which was drawn up in the language of Lequeio, and the counterpart in Latin, ſigned by both parties. I took the Latin part with me, and they preſerved the other. Its contents were as follow:—

"A Treaty, concluded between the chiefs and people "of the iſlands Lequeio, and the Baron Mauritius Au- "guſtus de Benyowſky, in the name of the company "under his direction. Contracted and ſigned on the 19th "of Auguſt, in the year 1771, at the iſland Uſmay Li- "gon, one of Lequeio."

"In the preſence of God, who created the heavens "and the earth, We, the chiefs and people of the iſland "of Uſmay Ligon, and the other Lequeio, of the one "part, and I, the Baron Mauritius de Benyowſky, of "the other part, do ſtipulate:"

"That I, Mauritius Auguſtus de Benyowſky, do oblige "myſelf, and do promiſe, upon my faith as a Chriſtian, to "return to this iſland, as ſoon as poſſible, with a ſociety "of virtuous, good, and juſt men, to dwell upon this "iſland, and to adopt the manners, uſages, and laws of "the inhabitants."

"And

" And we, the chiefs and people, call to witneſs that " God who created the heavens and the earth, that we will, " at any time hereafter, receive our friend Mauritius, with " all thoſe who ſhall be his friends: that we will ſhare " with them our lands, and will aſſiſt them in all their " labours, until their eſtabliſhments ſhall be equal to our " own; and, in the mean time, his friends, who remain " with us, ſhall be conſidered as the children of our " families, and treated as brothers."

" MAURITIUS, in the name of
" the company of Euro-
" peans."

" NICHOLAS, for the chiefs
" and people of Uſmay,
" and the Lequeio iſlands."

After the concluſion of this treaty, I aſſembled thoſe among my companions who were determined to fix their reſidence among this worthy people. I gave them inſtructions for the regulation of their conduct, and at laſt I embraced and quitted them to go on board. A prodigious number of iſlanders followed me, who, by their cries and tears, exhibited an affecting ſpectacle of goodneſs of heart, and tenderneſs of diſpoſition. We were ready to ſet ſail at day-break: I therefore begged my friend Nicholas to requeſt the iſlanders to go on board their boats; but ſeveral of the chiefs, faſtening their canoes to the veſſel, determined to accompany me till my departure. I weighed, at 10 A. M. and ſailed out of the harbour with out any unfortunate accident.

According

According to the Report, the whole company in good health; the veſſel making no water.

Saturday, Auguſt the 20th, at ſea, under the top-ſails; fine weather, but exceſſively hot; a freſh breeze, and ſmooth water; ſaw a large quantity of fiſhing birds around us. At half paſt one P. M. the iſlanders at laſt took their leave, and embarked in their canoes, to return to the iſland. About ſix we ſaw a great number of porpoiſes; the weather was fine throughout the night. About eleven we diſcovered land a head, extending from N. W. to S. E. I therefore came to an anchor in twenty-eight fathom fine ſand, and took advantage of this anchorage to ſet up the rigging afreſh, as this part of the ſervice had been neglected. At day-break we perceived that the whole of the ſtanding rigging required ſetting up, for which reaſon I was forced to continue the work. During this time ſeveral boats arrived, with which we trafficked, exchanging knives, and ſome other trifles, for a quantity of ſhells, very neatly wrought.

According to the Report, all well; the ſhip making no water.

Latitude in 28° 43′; longitude in 327° 18′. Wind E. N. E. Current from the Northward. Courſe S. S. W.

Sunday, Auguſt the 21ſt. fine clear weather, and ſmooth water. At one P. M. weighed, and made ſail, with all the ſails ſet, and hauled the wind, to double the Southern point of the iſland. At ſix we doubled another ſmall iſland, which lay to the Northward. About day-break we ſaw another on the ſtarboard beam, to the Southward.

According to the Report all well; the ſhip making no water.

Latitude in 28° 8′; longitude in 329° 2′. Wind E. N. E. ¼ N. Current from N. to S. Courſe S. E.

Monday, Auguſt the 22d. Fine weather and ſmooth water, but the heat almoſt inſupportable. About noon the wind became variable, and veered to the Southward. It fixed at S. E. I therefore took advantage of the fine weather, and ſet all our ſails, with which I might have made a good progreſs, if the wind had not abated, and came round to the Eaſtward. At nine A. M. ſaw two ſhips ſtanding from S. to N. right towards us; I therefore gave orders to prepare for battle, and appointed a number of the beſt markſmen in the tops. At eleven we were within cannon ſhot, and I then perceived that they were Hollanders, one carrying eighteen guns, and the other twelve.

According to the Report all well, prepared for battle, under the top-ſails. The ſhip making no water.

Latitude 26° 20′; longitude in 327° 2′. Wind E. No current. Courſe S. E. ¼ S.

Tueſday, Auguſt the 23d. One of the two veſſels coming nearly within muſket ſhot of us, fired a ball, and hailed us to come on board, and bring our papers. This behaviour of the Dutch Captain ſurprized me greatly, and ſo much the more as being entirely ignorant of the maritime laws, I knew not what he meant by my papers: for this reaſon I anſwered by four cannon-ſhot, and the muſquetry began to play from the tops, which greatly incommoded him. He waited for his companion, who at laſt came to his aſſiſtance, but was contented to keep out a conſiderable diſtance from us. I then hoiſted the colours of the Republic of Poland, and continued my courſe due S.

They

They were at firſt diſpoſed to follow me, but having obſerved that I made preparations for receiving them, by clewing up my courſes, they adopted the wiſeſt conduct for them, which was to put about, and continue their courſe; for I had determined to board one of the two, and make them pay dear for what they had done. This ſlight combat, the firſt I ever ſaw at ſea, coſt us only a few ſhot, and the trouble of performing our manœuvres. As to the Hollanders, I know not what their acquiſitions were.

According to the Report, all well; the ſhip making no water.

Latitude in 24° 45′; longitude in 327° 0′. Wind E. No current. Courſe S.

Wedneſday, Auguſt the 24th. Weather rather bluſtering, but without rain, and a riſing ſea. Being underway, with all ſails ſet, the aſſociates, from the information they had found in Anſon's Voyage, requeſted me to ſail to the iſland of Formoſa, in order that they might add the knowledge of this iſland to their other diſcoveries. Their propoſition was likewiſe agreeable to myſelf, I therefore promiſed to carry their requeſt into execution.

According to the Report, all well; the veſſel making no water.

Latitude in 23° 18′; longitude in 327° 0′. Wind E. Current from the Southward. Courſe S.

Thurſday, Auguſt the 25th. The weather conſtantly diſpoſed to ſqually, with rain at intervals. Conformably to the requeſt of my aſſociates, I changed my courſe, and ſtood to the Weſtward, and W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. we had a ſtrong current ſetting to the Southward.

According

According to the Report, all well; the ſhip making no water.

Latitude in 23° 22′; longitude in 325° 0′. Wind E. Current from the Southward. Courſe W. ¼ S.

Friday, Auguſt the 26th. About three P. M. a ſtrong breeze aroſe, which obliged me to hand all the ſails but the mizen. At ſix, a heavy rain came on, and abated the wind, which veered round to the N. E. About three A. M. I was awakened by the news of land. We had barely time to turn the ſhip's head to the Southward, when we clewed up the mizen, and let go an anchor in eighteen fathom water, the bottom being coral rock. At day-break we found ourſelves near a rock; the iſland of Formoſa being in ſight, and appearing to be very high land. I immediately weighed, and doubling the North point of the ſmall iſland, ſtood towards the land, and moored at the opening of a bay, in fourteen fathom water, greeniſh ſand. The aſſociates were buſied the whole night, in preparing the boats, and clearing their arms, which were diſtributed with the neceſſary amunition. At four A. M. Mr. Kuzneczow, and Mr. Wynbladth, were ſent on ſhore, with the canoe and the ſhallop, with ſixteen men. At eight we heard three muſket ſhot on ſhore, which I anſwered with one of my great guns. After this we heard a conſtant firing. At half-paſt nine we at laſt perceived our boats, returning round a point of the land. Three of the detachment were wounded with arrows, and they brought with them five priſoners, two of whom were dangerouſly wounded.

Here follows the Report of Mr. Kuzneczow.

After having reached ſhore, in a commodious bay, where I found the ſoundings every where from eight to

five, and three fathoms, I advanced with a detachment of ten aſſociates, towards a fire, which we diſcovered. Mr. Wynbladth remained with the boats under his care. We found two Indians, and a woman, near the fire, whom we gave to underſtand, that we were in want of food. One of them immediately went off, and returned in leſs than an hour after, with three other Indians, armed with lances, who made ſigns to us to follow them. They conducted us to a village, and as we refuſed to enter into their huts, they brought us boiled rice, with roaſted pork, and a quantity of lemons and oranges. The iſlanders appeared quiet, and were not numerous; but as I had obſerved a crowd, at the extremity of the village, and ſeveral armed bodies of men who went out, I imagined that they intended to ſeek a cauſe of quarrel with us; for which reaſon I perſuaded my companions to proceed back again, in order to carry the news on board, that we had formed a very convenient anchoring place. Accordingly, after having given the iſlanders ſome knives, in return for the refreſhment we had taken, we began to return. But we had ſcarcely reached the place where we had firſt ſeen the fire lighted, before we heard a cry, and were attacked by a ſhower of arrows, which wounded three of my people. I gave orders to fire immediately on the enemy, and the firſt diſcharge checked their impetuoſity, when they ſaw half a dozen of their party extended on the ground. For my own part, not being deſirous of amuſing myſelf in that place, I gave orders to carry one of my companions, who could not walk, and effected my retreat. The iſlanders were preparing to fall upon us a ſecond time, when fortunately for us, the cannon ſhot, from on board,

intimidated

intimidated them, and cauſed them to leave us for a time at liberty. But when we came to the ſea ſhore we were attacked by a great number of the ſavages. It was a happy circumſtance that Mr. Wynbladth was on the ſpot. We then fell upon them, and after having overthrown at leaſt ſixty, we made five priſoners, and collected a quantity of lances and bows, which are now in the boats.

Upon this information, I would have quitted the place, as I was not deſirous of expoſing myſelf to a war with the natives; but my aſſociates inſiſted that I ſhould enter the harbour. I found it impoſſible to calm their fury, and for that reaſon, at laſt conſented. We therefore weighed, and with a ſlight breeze from the Eaſtward, and the boats a-head, I entered the bay, and anchored at the diſtance of one hundred fathoms off ſhore.

According to the Report, three wounded, and five priſoners of war.

Saturday, Auguſt the 27th, moored in a bay at the mouth of a river, on the iſland of Formoſa. As ſoon as I had got the ſhip moored, I ordered twenty-eight men on ſhore, under the command of Meſſrs. Baturin and Cruſtiew, who went on board the ſhallop, and rowed towards the ſhore. As ſoon as they landed, they were met by fifty iſlanders, who held branches of trees in their hands; and as theſe people came without arms, Mr. Baturin received them kindly. They threw themſelves firſt at the feet of my people, and by their ſigns gave them to underſtand, that they intreated forgiveneſs. This voluntary ſubmiſſion diſarmed the rage of my companions, and ſeveral of them ran to the ſhore, and called out, that all was well. Upon theſe pacific appearances, the

aſſociates imagined that they might enjoy themſelves in the habitations of the Indians, and declared to Meſſrs. Baturin and Cruſtiew, that they were deſirous of going to the village. Their abſurd obſtinacy gave way to no perſuaſions; for in ſpite of the remonſtrances of thoſe gentlemen, twenty-two departed for the village. Being informed of this mutiny, I determined to go on ſhore myſelf, with fifteen other aſſociates, and immediately directed my march towards the village, which was not far off. I had ſcarcely made a few ſteps, before I heard a violent firing and horrible cries. The noiſe increaſed, and at laſt I ſaw my people retreating, and purſued by a number of blacks, who haſtily followed them. When they came near me, they rallied, but no more than ſeven of them were armed, the others being entirely naked, with ſeveral arrows ſticking in their bodies. I gave orders, therefore, for thoſe who had no arms, to retire towards the veſſel, and rallied the others; by whoſe aſſiſtance I ſtopped the crowd of iſlanders, among whom I obſerved ſeveral armed with our muſkets. Unfortunately for them, they knew not how to uſe them; and as they were more advanced than the others, they were quickly deſtroyed by our fire. Only two of them eſcaped, who threw down their muſkets to favour their flight. At the moment the Indians made their retreat, or rather fled, Mr. Kuzneczow arrived with twenty freſh companions, who chaced them out of their village, and at laſt ſet fire to it in ſeveral places. After the total defeat of the iſlanders, the dead were counted; and it was found that they amounted to upwards of two hundred, without reckoning thoſe who were wounded, and had fled.

On

On our return from this expedition, a party of the aſſociates diſcovered a ſmall harbour in the river, in which they found ſeven boats, and a bark in an unfiniſhed ſtate. They ſet fire to the bark, and brought away the boats, which were loaded with the arms of the iſlanders. As ſoon as this operation was ended, I went on board, and put the chiefs of the mutiny againſt Meſſrs. Baturin and Cruſtiew in irons.

This accident abated the deſire of the company to prolong their ſtay. They therefore requeſted me to ſeek another anchoring place. Taking advantage of the calm, I weighed, and by the help of the boats towed the veſſel out of the ſound. We had ſcarcely doubled the North point, before the current carried us to the Northward. At day break we found ourſelves oppoſite a ſmall bay, into which I determined to enter; but as the current tended to drive us beyond it, I came to anchor in twenty-ſix fathom. About eight, a light breeze ſprung up, and I was preparing to ſet ſail, when I ſaw two canoes rowing towards us. At ten they came near us, and one of them hailed us, crying out, Signor Houvritto, vai, vai. They made ſigns to us to follow them, which I did, having all my boats out to aſſiſt in caſe of accidents; but we happily entered into a very beautiful harbour, where I anchored near the Southern ſhore, with a view to be ſheltered from all winds. The depth of water was three fathom, and the veſſel was ſo near the land, that a man could jump on ſhore.

According to the Report, eleven wounded, three priſoners of war, two having died.

N. B.

N. B. I muſt here obſerve, that I found in this ſeaſon, a violent current along the iſland Formoſa, which carried the veſſel* 1¾ leagues per hour; but I obſerved that this current cauſed the veſſel to follow all the ſinuoſities of the ſhore, and kept us always at the ſame diſtance from it.

Sunday, Auguſt the 28th. At anchor in the harbour† on the iſland of Formoſa, fine clear weather, but exceſſively hot. We had ſcarcely time to coil up our running rigging, before a prodigious number of iſlanders, of both ſexes, appeared with poultry, rice, ſugar-canes, hogs, oranges, and other fruits, which they exchanged with us for pins, needles, and other ſmall articles. Though theſe people behaved themſelves with circumſpection, I would not venture to place any confidence in them. For this reaſon, I conſtantly kept a dozen of the aſſociates armed. About three, P. M. a crowd of iſlanders appeared, having at their head a man cloathed in a droll manner, partly in the European, and partly in the Indian faſhion. On his head he wore a laced hat, a large ſword hung by his ſide, his ſtockings were made of cloth, and his ſhoes were no doubt of his own manufacture. This appearance ſurprized me, and I immediately ſent Mr. Kuzneczow to meet him; but as he could not underſtand his language, he brought him on board, where I learned, that he was a Spaniard of Manilla, who had lived ſeven or eight years among theſe iſlanders, and he had acquired the confidence of ſeveral cantons. He made me a very civil offer of his houſe; but as I thought it neceſſary to make a minute enquiry before I truſted him

* To the Northward; as it appears from the preceding text.

† A blank left in the MS by the copyiſt, and neglected to be filled up by the Count.

him, he informed me, that he had fled from Manilla to the iſland Formoſa, in a veſſel, manned by ſix of his ſlaves; and that he had been forced to this proceeding, in conſequence of his having, in a moment of rage, maſſacred his wife, and a Dominican, whom he had found in her company. He ſaid his name was Don Hieronimo Pacheco, formerly Captain of the port of Cavith, at Manilla. This Spaniard aſſured me, that I might truſt the people of that canton, who were the beſt people in the world, and thought themſelves under an obligation to me for having ill-treated their enemies: for he informed me that the news of my conduct, with reſpect to the* had already arrived thither.

Upon this good news, I made him a preſent of a complete ſuit of cloaths, with ſome ſhirts, and a good ſabre; I promiſed, beſides, to give him fire arms, and other utenſils, provided he was careful in aſſiſting us, during our ſtay; upon which he promiſed, and declared that he would not quit me during the whole time I ſhould remain on the iſland. In fact, after having ſpoken a ſhort time to the iſlanders, they retired, and he remained with us that night.

In the evening, having received information that our water was in a putrid ſtate, I gave orders for taking in freſh water at day-break; in conſequence of which I enquired of Don Hieronimo Pacheco, the place where we could obtain the beſt water. He informed me that the iſlanders would bring me good ſpring water; but that there was a brook near an advanced rock, which he ſhewed me, in which we might obtain the beſt water in the world. But he warned me,

* Blank left in MS.

me, at the ſame time, that the iſlanders of that canton were at war with his friends, and that it would, for that reaſon, be neceſſary to ſend a party of armed men thither, to guard the ſailors while they filled their caſks. Upon this information, I gave inſtructions to Mr. Panow to go early with twelve aſſociates on the buſineſs; and recommended to him, at the ſame time, to be upon his guard againſt a ſurprize. Not content with this precaution, I gave orders for awakening me before their departure; and having called them all before me, I recommended to them a ſecond time to be on their guard. They ſet off at laſt at eight A. M. having been detained to ſet up ſome caſks.

After the departure of the boats, I entered into converſation with the Spaniard, who appeared to be perfectly acquainted with the iſland. It was from him I learned, that part of the iſland on the Weſtern ſide, was ſubject to the Chineſe; but that ſix parts out of ſeven were independent, one-third part of which only were ſavages, among whom we had at preſent fallen. He aſſured me, that with very little aſſiſtance, he thought it practicable to conquer the iſland, and drive out the Chineſe. His reaſoning, and the combination of circumſtances which he mentioned, pleaſed me, and I attended to him with ſo much the more willingneſs, as I had conceived the project of carrying his plan into execution. I therefore availed myſelf of the preſent opportunity, to propoſe that he ſhould return into Europe with me. But this he poſitively refuſed, and aſſured me, that he was ſufficiently acquainted with Europe, to thank heaven that he was out of it. To this he added, that he was become familiariſed with

the manner of living in Formoſa, and that as he had a good wife, and ſeveral children, neither his duty nor his inclination, would ſuffer him to leave them. Our converſation was interrupted by dinner.

According to the Report, eleven wounded, and three priſoners.

Monday, Auguſt the 29th. At anchor in port Maurice. Don Hieronimo remarked, that as the watering place was ſo near, he was ſurprized that our people did not return; and he begged me to ſend the ſhallop upon diſcovery. Mr. Kuzneczow immediately went with eight men, and returned about two, P.M. with the canoe and periagua in tow. As ſoon as I perceived them at a diſtance, I was ſurprized to ſee that ſome of them were covered with blood, and had arrows ſticking in their bodies; and as I did not ſee either Mr. Panow or Mr. Loginow, I began to fear the worſt. When the ſhallop came on board, Mr. Kuzneczow informed me, that Mr. Panow and Mr. Loginow were mortally wounded. and that John Popow was the firſt ſlain. After having received Meſſrs. Panow and Loginow, in order to give them every aſſiſtance, I enquired concerning the fact; and was informed, that Mr. Panow having viſited the environs, and diſcovered no ſigns of any perſon being near, had been deſirous of bathing, while the aſſociates were at work, filling the caſks; and that he himſelf had invited the others to follow his example. But he had ſcarcely laid aſide his arms and cloaths, when he was attacked by twenty Indians, who ſhot at him with arrows; that Popow was one of the firſt who fell dead; and that afterwards Panow and Loginow fell, and all the others were wounded; and that certainly not one of them could

have eſcaped, if Volinſky and Andre had not fired at the iſlanders from the canoe, into which they had retired. They added, that they dared not return on board and abandon Mr. Panow, who from time to time gave ſigns of life, as well as Mr. Loginow. They were in this ſituation when the ſhallop came to their relief.

After this information, I ran to my friend Panow, around whom I found all the company aſſembled; but as I was deſirous of hearing what he ſaid, without interrupting him, I did not come forward. The following were the words of this invaluable friend, which will ever be preſent in my memory.

"My brothers," ſaid he to his companions, "inform my friend, our commander, that my only regret at quitting life is, that I ſhall no longer be able to ſecond and ſupport his labours. Alas! he is very far from ſeeing their concluſion. Tell him, that I love him as my life; and that I ſhould die contented, if I could have ſeen his merit and virtue recompenſed. Intreat him in my name, not to revenge my death; but content himſelf with informing my brother of this misfortune. Take example, my friends, by me; if I had followed the advice of our chief and friend, I had ſtill lived. Reſpect and obey him as a father; and thou, unhappy friend, Stephanow, lay aſide thy haughtineſs, and that hatred which is concealed in the bottom of thy heart, againſt this worthy friend.—Supply my place by thy fidelity to him." At theſe words I came forward;—but my God, what a ſight! He ſeemed to have recovered all his powers. He graſped my hand, wept, and embraced me, but was unable to ſpeak for a long time. At length, he exclaimed, "Alas, dear friend!

friend! I ſhall ſoon be no more.—I am myſelf the cauſe. —But forgive me.—My laſt wiſh is, that heaven may ever give thee friends like me.—Thou art worthy of them, and happy are they who ſhall know thy worth, as I do: May heaven grant, that this land, which ſoon ſhall cover my bones, may be thy patrimony."—The power of death interrupted his words, and deprived me of this dear and moſt valuable friend.

Loginow had paid the debt of nature a few inſtants before. I determined to bury them immediately; but as I was deſirous of providing, that their bodies might not be diſturbed, I begged Don Hieronimo, to ſpeak with his friends, the iſlanders, and requeſt permiſſion to bury them on their territory. To this they readily conſented, and we performed their funerals with the greateſt order. I fired twenty-one guns on this occaſion, and ordered Andreanow to engrave the following words on a ſtone.

" Here lies Vaſili Panow, a Ruſſian gentleman of illuſtrious birth and merit, the faithful friend of Mauritius Benyowſky, who was treacherouſly ſlain, with two other companions, John Loginow and John Popow, by the inhabitants of this iſland, on the 29th of Auguſt, 1771."

After the burial, Don Hieronimo declared to me, that his friends had determined to avenge the death of my companions; and that, conſequently, they would proceed to attack their neighbours. My aſſociates joined in this propoſal for vengeance, which had already began by the maſſacre of our three Indian priſoners. While I was thus urged to come to a determination, the Spaniard informed me, that the canoe we ſaw rowing towards us, was filled with our enemies. My aſſociates waited for no orders,

but ruſhed on board the boats, and attacked them. Their firſt diſcharge ſlew thirteen, and the others they immediately brought on board, and hung at the yard-arm. I repreſented to them that this execution was enough, and that it was prudent to terminate our warfare here; but, alas! I preached to the deaf. They perſiſted in their determination to go in queſt of the Indians, and make them feel their vengeance. As I ſaw I could make no impreſſion on the minds of theſe enraged men, I was forced to promiſe to direct their proceedings, that they might not expoſe their lives to no purpoſe.

My reſolution being once made, I entered ſeriouſly into the buſineſs. For this reaſon, I requeſted the Spaniard to guide my people towards the principal reſidence of the nation, who has given ſo bad a reception to us; and as he promiſed to accompany us, I gave him a good carabine. He requeſted leave to bring with him a couple of hundred of his Indian friends; in anſwer to which I repreſented, that theſe poor people might become the victims of their good intentions, and be ſlain by my comrades for want of knowing them. However, he removed my objection, by propoſing, that every one of our party ſhould wear a piece of white cloth on his left arm. This precaution appearing to me to be ſufficient, I acquieſced in his demand, and he immediately went on ſhore to make his neceſſary preparations for the attack which was appointed to be made at day break.

About ſeven in the evening, I cauſed the boats to tow our veſſel to the river of the maſſacre, where I anchored. At three, I ordered forty-ſix companions on ſhore, commanded by Meſſieurs Cruſtiew, Kuzneczow, Baturin, Wyndbladth,

An Affair of Retaliation upon the Island Formosa.

Vol: II. page 37.

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Wyndbladth, and Stephanow; and we only waited for Don Hieronimo, who arrived at four. They then proceeded inland, and we heard nothing till about three quarters after ſix, when the noiſe of the muſquetry convinced me that the action had began. Soon after I ſaw a number of iſlanders retiring towards a ſteep mountain; and then it was that my companions on board directed their pieces at them, and made a dreadful ſlaughter. Theſe unhappy men, ſeeing themſelves preſſed on one ſide by my troops, and on the other by the iſlanders, under the conduct of the Spaniard, threw themſelves proſtrate upon the ground. I was then forced to declare to my whole party, that I would fire upon them if they continued the maſſacre. On this meſſage, the parties contented themſelves with making priſoners, the number of whom amounted to ſix hundred and forty-three. The killed were reckoned and proved to be eleven hundred and fifty-ſix. What ſurprized me the moſt was, that among the wounded and priſoners there were a great number of women armed in the ſame manner as the men.

Our expedition being thus ended, without any of our ſide having received the ſlighteſt wound, I went on ſhore, and the Indians preſented me with the ſlaves. But as I refuſed to keep any of them, the Spaniard choſe fifty, and abandoned the reſt to his friends. I contented myſelf with carrying all their arms on board. About ten o'clock, a party of our friends of the iſlanders, appeared with near two hundred women, children, and old men, whom they had made priſoners. The whole troop appeared to be overjoyed, and returned towards their habitations: but for my own part, being deſirous of leaving a ſpot which preſented

nothing but the deſolation of the village, which our party had ſet on fire, I retired with my veſſel to our firſt ſtation.

According to the Report, eleven wounded.

Monday, Auguſt the 30th. Having this day informed my friend the Spaniard, of my wiſh to eſtabliſh a camp on ſhore, he begged I would permit him to make the neceſſary preparations. In conſequence of my acceding to his requeſt, he went on ſhore, and about three o'clock he returned with about five hundred iſlanders, who began to erect huts for us. Several were finiſhed before evening. I therefore went on ſhore myſelf with the women, and ſuch of our people as were wounded, and a guard of ſixteen men. At the cloſe of the day, the iſlanders ſet a guard of forty men on our right flank, in order to ſecure us, as they ſaid, from the attacks of the allies of the nation, with whom we had been at war.

At day-break, Don Hieronimo preſented his family to me, with a great number of his friends, and likewiſe acquainted me that Huapo, a prince of the country, was coming to expreſs his gratitude for my having avenged his ſubjects upon the two nations who were their enemies. He informed me, that Huapo lived in a town about thirty or thirty-two leagues diſtant inland; that the central parts of his dominions were well civilized, as was alſo the whole Weſtern part of the iſland; the Eaſtern coaſt only being poſſeſſed by a ſavage people, among whom, however, he excepted the territory belonging to Huapo, which was inhabited by a gentle and induſtrious race. He added, that the Prince Huapo could muſter twenty, or five and twenty thouſand

thouſand armed men, notwithſtanding which he was often diſturbed in his capital, either by the Chineſe party, or their allies.

After this information, he inſinuated that it would be eaſy to conclude a treaty with this prince, to form eſtabliſhments in his country, the productions of which conſiſted in gold, cryſtal, cinnabar, rice, ſugar, cinnamon, ſilk, and particularly the moſt beautiful kinds of wood, might form advantageous branches of commerce; in exchange for which they would receive a quantity of hardware, iron, and European cloth, to the profit of two hundred per cent. to the ſellers. Such was our converſation, when it was interrupted by the arrival of the Bamini, or General. The Spaniard immediately haſtened to meet him, and I cauſed my companions to honour him with three diſcharges of their muſquetry. When he had arrived near my barracks, he cauſed a tent to be put up, the ground underneath being covered with a rich carpet, upon which he ſeated himſelf, and invited me to do the ſame. The Spaniard ſtood up to attend us, and ſerve as my interpreter.

After the firſt civilities, he demanded who I was; whence I came; what cauſe had determined me to land on the iſland of Formoſa? &c. I replied to his queſtions in ſhort, that I was a General of a kingdom, who, having been made priſoner of war, had effected my eſcape with a party of my people to return to my own country; that having found the iſland of Formoſa on my way, I anchored on the coaſt to procure water; but that the cruelty exerciſed by the two nations towards my companions, had demanded vengeance, which I had ſatisfied, and was preparing to return to my country.

He

He replied by requeſting me to defer my departure till the arrival of Huapo, who having heard ſuch wonders of me, had determined to come in perſon to viſit me; in conſequence of which, he had been diſpatched with a party of troops to defend me againſt my enemies. To this compliment I replied, that I was truly ſenſible of the good diſpoſition of the prince; that I ſhould be infinitely flattered by the honour of ſeeing him; and ſtill more in rendering him every ſervice in my power. That the precaution of ſending his troops to defend me, was ſuperfluous, as no force could have any effect upon me. To this declaration I added the moſt flattering compliments to the Bamini, to whom I immediately made a preſent of a beautiful ſabre, which, however, he politely refuſed, by obſerving, that he could not accept it without the knowledge of his maſter. After this converſation, he regaled me with tea and tobacco, at the ſame time that at intervals, he cauſed betel and the areca nut to be preſented to me, with a ſmall quantity of lime, all which together I chewed, and found moſt execrable.

The habits of this General conſiſted of a long red pautalon*, Chineſe half boots, a white ſhirt, with a veſt of black, and a red ſurplice, or outer garment, which had ſome buttons of coral, ſet in gold. His head was covered with a bonnet of ſtraw, exceedingly pointed, and the upper extremity was ornamented with horſe hair, dyed red. His arms conſiſted of a ſabre, a lance, and a bow, with a quiver, containing twenty-five arrows. The troops who attended him were entirely naked, except a piece of blue

* The pautalon is a cloſe garment fitted to the body, and all of one piece from head to foot. T.

blue cloth round their middle, and their arms were lances and bows.

According to the Report, ſeven wounded.

Wedneſday, Auguſt the 31ſt. This day all our huts being finiſhed, I landed all my people, and having raiſed two epaulements, I placed four pieces of cannon upon them, two on each flank of my camp. No more than eight men remained on board, as a guard.

Our repaſt was not of long duration. The Formoſian General eat with aſtoniſhing rapidity, without ſpeaking a word; and after he had devoured a quantity of rice, with ſome pieces of roaſt meat, he roſe, and began to chew his betel, and ſmoke tobacco. As I was deſirous of making my court to him, I followed his example, though my palate ſuffered for it. After dinner we walked round my camp. When we came near a battery, Bamini requeſted me to order ſome cannon ſhot to be fired. I immediately gave orders to fix a butt at five hundred paces diſtance, and pointed the pieces myſelf. At the ſecond fire, the boat which the iſlanders had expoſed as a butt, was broken in pieces; at which the Formoſian General teſtified the greateſt ſurprize. To increaſe his aſtoniſhment, I gave orders to my companions to take their arms, and fire at a plank at eighty paces diſtance. Very few of their ſhot miſſed; and as the plank was ſhot through, this exerciſe gave him great ſatisfaction, and induced him to ſpare no flattering expreſſions on the occaſion.

About five in the evening, Bamini received a courier, who announced the approaching arrival of the Huapo. The General therefore left me, and went to prepare a

camp. I embraced this opportunity to give orders for ſome fire-works; and at the ſame time give the Prince the diverſion of ſeeing our military exerciſe. The iſlanders, in the mean time, had become ſo familiar with us, as to leave their daughters freely in our camp; and it is remarkable, that there was no inſtance of any pilfering committed by them, though our people were exceedingly negligent. I employed the night in making ſeveral different fuſees, and a large ſerpent for the fire-works.

At day-break, Don Hieronimo waited on me, to acquaint me with the arrival of the Prince, and adviſed me to ſend two of my officers to meet him, inſtead of going myſelf. As he offered to ſerve as their interpreter, I immediately ſent Meſſrs. Cruſtiew and Kuzneczow, with ſix of our aſſociates armed, to attend them. After their departure, I aſcended an hill to ſee their camp prepared. I perceived that the arrangement was made after a certain order; the tent of the Prince being in the centre, and the others round about it. About eight o'clock, I ſaw the troops march in, and at laſt the Prince arrived.

Their order was as follows: Firſt came ſix horſemen, with a kind of ſtandard. Theſe were followed by a troop of infantry with pikes. After theſe came thirty or forty horſemen, and another body of infantry with bows. A troop armed with clubs and hatchets came next; and laſt of all came the Prince, attended by twelve or fifteen officers, mounted on ſmall, but beautiful horſes. The reſt of the troops came after without any regular order. On their arrival at the camp, every one lodged where he could, and there was no guard ſet.

About

About eleven o'clock, Don Hieronimo returned to invite me, in the name of the Prince, to come and ſee him; and he brought ſeveral horſes, though the diſtance was very ſhort. I immediately mounted, and ſoon arrived at the Prince's tent. His appearance ſtruck me at firſt ſight. He was between thirty and thirty-five years of age, about five feet three inches high, of a ſtrong and vigorous make, with a lively eye and majeſtic carriage. Upon being introduced to him, I found Mr. Cruſtiew already in great familiarity with him; who ſaid to me in Ruſſian, this youth would do our buſineſs, if we propoſed to remain at Formoſa; and his good diſpoſition would permit him to aſſure me, that I might be King of the iſland whenever I pleaſed. He had ſcarcely ſpoken, when the Prince addreſſed me by our interpreter, aſſuring me, that I was welcome on the iſland; and that he had heard, with the greateſt ſatisfaction, of the manner we had treated his enemies, for which he thought it proper to make his grateful acknowledgements. To this he added, that he had no doubt but that I was the perſon whoſe coming was announced by the Prophets, who had foretold that a ſtranger ſhould arrive with ſtrong men, who ſhould deliver the Formoſans from the Chineſe yoke: in conſequence of which he had determined to pay me a viſit, and make me an offer of all his power and forces to ſupport and obey me. This commencement changed my ſyſtem, and the Spaniard inſenſibly led me to play a new part, by aſſuring the Huapo that I was a great Prince, who had viſited Formoſa, with the intention of ſatisfying myſelf concerning the poſition of the Chineſe, and to fulfil the wiſhes of the inhabitants of the iſland, by delivering them from the power of that treacherous people.

Upon this information, I thanked the Prince for his good intentions, and aſſured him that I ſhould always make it a part of my glory to contribute to the happineſs of a nation who were ſo fortunate as to be governed by a Prince of ſuch wiſdom and penetration as himſelf. But that upon the preſent occaſion, having came only for the purpoſe of contracting alliances with the natives of the iſland, and more eſpecially with the Huapo, I ſhould explain myſelf more at large on another occaſion; as theſe affairs and intereſts required to be treated of in ſecret. The Prince appeared to be ſatisfied with this reply, and invited me to dine with him. Meſſrs. Cruſtiew and Kuzneczow were likewiſe of the party, as well as the Spaniard, whom the Prince took into favour, and cauſed him to be immediately clothed after the faſhion of the country; at the ſame time that he gave him a belt and a ſabre, as marks of diſtinction.

After dinner, the Prince propoſed to viſit my camp, and while our horſes were getting ready, Mr. Cruſtiew went before, to prepare the men to render due honour to the Prince, who was attended by near fifty officers on horſeback, and his whole body of troops following him at the diſtance of about three hundred paces. When we came in ſight of our camp, the cannonade began, and the aſtoniſhed Sovereign was in great danger of ſharing the fate of his officers, moſt of whom were thrown by the friſks and leaps of their horſes, who were not accuſtomed to the noiſe, and could not be made to advance. We therefore diſmounted, and arrived at the camp, where the aſſociates ſaluted the Prince with three diſcharges of muſquetry, and the ceremony ended with twenty guns from the ſhip.

ſhip. This honourable and noiſy reception gave him infinite pleaſure, and as a mark of friendſhip, he put his hand in mine, and in this manner we proceeded to my tent, followed only by his General and three other officers. He ſoon reſumed his diſcourſe, by giving a detail of the reaſons, which made him deſirous of driving the Chineſe out of the iſland; and he left me no reaſon to doubt, that vanity induced him to declare war upon them. His inclination, in this reſpect, would certainly have been highly advantageous to me, if I had propoſed to remain in the country; but as my determination was to return as ſpeedily as poſſible into Europe, I thought it would be very unſafe to engage in enterprizes, which, even on the moſt happy event, would not make my return the leſs neceſſary. But, on the other hand, being well convinced, that by an alliance with this Prince, I ſhould be enabled to propoſe the eſtabliſhment of a colony on the iſland to ſome European power, I reſolved to do every thing in my power to preſerve his favourable diſpoſition towards me.

About four in the evening, the Prince expreſſed a deſire to ſee the veſſel: I accordingly ordered thirty of my companions to go on board immediately; and afterwards ſent Mr. Cruſtiew to attend him, with directions to amuſe him as long as poſſible, that I might have time to prepare my fireworks. All was ready at half paſt ſeven, when I conducted the Prince to a place where he might ſee the whole fire, which began after the diſcharge of three great guns. He expreſſed his admiration at this exhibition, but informed me that the Chineſe made the ſame. When the fireworks were ended, the Prince retired, after giving me his belt and ſabre, as a token that he would ſhare with me

me his power over his army, which amounted to eight thouſand men, of whom only two hundred and ſixty were horſemen.

As ſoon as the Prince was gone, I aſſembled a Committee, in which I declared Mr. Stephanow our equal, and capable of being admitted to our confidence; and I gave orders to Mr. Cruſtiew, to acknowledge him as ſuch before the whole company. At the ſame time I gave directions for preparing the preſents for the Prince Huapo, which conſiſted of two pieces of cannon I had brought as ballaſt, thirty good muſkets, ſix barrels of gunpowder, two hundred iron balls, and fifty pounds of match. At day-break, I detached Meſſrs. Cruſtiew, Wyndbladth, and Kuzneczow, to inform the Prince of the preſents; to which I added thirty common Japaneſe ſabres, one ſabre very elegantly wrought for himſelf, and twenty others for his principal officers.

About eight o'clock, Don Hieronimo came to announce a viſit on the part of the Prince, who came attended only by his confidential officers, as well to receive the preſents, as to treat with me on objects of the greateſt importance. About ten he arrived, and as I had the whole intermediate time to converſe with, and make enquiries of the good Spaniard, I had my anſwers in readineſs. In the firſt place, the Prince cauſed a very magnificent tent to be erected near mine, in which very rich carpets were laid; and here it was that he received me. He began the converſation, by thanking me for the preſents which he had accepted on my part, and then proceeded to make the following demands:

1. Whether I could leave part of my people behind to remain with him till my return?

2. Whether

2. Whether I could bring back a number of troops armed with muſkets, and ſkilled in the management of cannon; and what would be the expence of maintaining one thouſand men?

3. Whether I could procure for him veſſels armed with cannon, and captains to command them?

4. Whether I would accept the conceſſion he would make me of the province of Havangſin; which, with its cities, towns, and inhabitants, he would cede to me in propriety, on condition that I ſhould ſupport him with Europeans, until he ſhould have driven the Chineſe out of his dominions, at which period he would yield up to me his whole kingdom?

5. And laſtly, whether I would aſſiſt him in an expedition he was going to make againſt one of his neighbours, on condition that he ſhould allow me a certain ſum, with other advantages?

6. That after having received my anſwer, he ſhould propoſe to me to enter into a permanent treaty of friendſhip with him?

Theſe queſtions appeared to me, to be the work of Don Hieronimo; though he would never acknowledge that they ſprung from his brain.—My anſwer was as follows:

1. That having a very long voyage to make, I could not leave any of my people behind me.

2. That it was in my power to bring armed troops and cannon along with me; but that the tranſport of one thouſand men, would coſt one thouſand five hundred pounds of gold; and the maintainance of ſuch a body of troops, would coſt yearly, five hundred pounds of gold.

3. That I could procure armed veſſels, ſuch as he demanded; but that each veſſel of twenty guns, would coſt fifty pounds of gold.

4. That I ſhould accept the commiſſion of the province of Havangſin, ſuch as he was deſirous of beſtowing it; on condition that I ſhould ſupport him againſt the Chineſe, until they were driven out of his dominions; and that he ſhould veſt the property of his kingdom in me.

5. That though the ſeaſon preſſed my departure, yet, with a view to teſtify my attachment to the Prince Huapo, I ſhould be ready to aſſiſt him in his military operations, without demanding any recompence, except what he ſhould voluntarily pleaſe to beſtow upon my companions.

6. That I was ready to conclude a treaty of friendſhip with him, and hoped, that, provided he acted with as much ſincerity as myſelf, I ſhould ſoon ſee him ſovereign of the whole iſland of Formoſa, and in a ſituation to avenge himſelf and family on the Emperor of China, for the perſecutions they had formerly ſuffered from that potentate.

The Prince having liſtened with the greateſt attention to my replies, cauſed them to be written upon a paper, on which I perceived that his demands were likewiſe written. He then cauſed the queſtion to be put to me, whether my reſolution was invariable; and upon my anſwering in the affirmative, he propoſed to make the ceremony of the oath; to which I conſented with all my heart. During the time the preparations were making, I embraced the opportunity of preſenting him with a ſabre, and a pair of choice piſtols. I did the ſame to his

Generaliſſimo,

Generaliſſimo, and begged he would diſtribute the others to the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers of the army.

Soon afterwards the Prince informed me that all was in readineſs, and went out with me. We approached a ſmall fire, upon which we threw ſeveral pieces of wood. A cenſor was then given to me, and another to him. Theſe were filled with lighted wood, upon which we threw incenſe; and turning towards the Eaſt, we made ſeveral fumigations. After the ceremony, the General read the queſtions, and my anſwers; and whenever he pauſed, we turned towards the Eaſt, and repeated the fumigation. At the end of the reading, the Prince pronounced imprecations and maledictions upon him who ſhould break the treaty of friendſhip between us; and Don Hieronimo directed me to do the ſame, and afterwards interpreted my words. After this we threw our fire upon the ground, and thruſt our ſabres in the ground up to the hilts. The aſſiſtants immediately brought a quantity of large ſtones, with which they covered our arms, and the Prince then embraced me, and declared that he acknowledged me as his brother.

On our return to his tent, he cauſed a complete habit, made according to the faſhion of the country, to be brought, with which I was cloathed; and in this manner we ſet out for the camp of the Prince, where we were received with every demonſtration of joy. On our arrival at his tent, dinner was ſerved up in a more plentiful manner than uſual; and as the Prince had requeſted the company of my officers, I cauſed them all to attend, except Mr. Baturin, who commanded in my abſence. During the whole time of our meal, our ears were ſtunned

with a very noiſy kind of muſic, and the continued beating of drums. At our riſing from table, I was not a little ſurprized to ſee the two pieces of cannon planted at the entrance of the camp. But Mr. Wyndbladth informed me, that my aſſociates had paid the Prince the compliment of placing them there; at which he was exceedingly well ſatisfied. At four o'clock, all the principal officers being aſſembled, with the Bamini at their head, the Prince ſpoke to them for a long time; and after having ended his diſcourſe, he diſmiſſed them. Half an hour afterwards, the Prince and myſelf, accompanied by the Spaniard, mounted our horſes, and paſſed through the camp; where I was ſaluted by all the officers. The manner of ſalutation conſiſted in each officer touching with his left hand, the ſtirrup of him whom he ſalutes. When we had made ſeveral turns in the camp, we returned to the Prince's tent, who urged me to come to a determination to accompany him in his enterprize; and, as I had reſolved to aſſiſt him, I thought it proper to make ſome enquiries into the ſubject. The information I received was as follows: The Prince Hapuaſingo, Sovereign of a neighbouring territory, who was allied and tributary to the Chineſe, had demanded, in conſequence of a private quarrel of individuals, that Huapo ſhould put ſeveral of his own ſubjects to death; and as Huapo did not chuſe to comply with his wiſhes, he made war upon him, in which Huapo was not ſucceſsful, but was conſtrained at laſt to pay a conſiderable fine to Hapuaſingo: and though he had fulfilled the treaty, yet the Chineſe Governor demanded a further reimburſement, on pretence of the expences he had been at in bringing his troops into the field; and upon this plea

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the Chineſe, with the aſſiſtance of Hapuaſingo, had uſurped one of his fineſt and moſt fertile provinces. That, conſidering the preſent as a favourable moment to avenge himſelf on his neighbour, and the Chineſe, he hoped, by my aſſiſtance, to bring his wiſhes to a happy termination. He informed me, moreover, that the army of Hapuaſingo did not conſiſt of above five or ſix thouſand men; and that the number of Chineſe who could come to his aſſiſtance, were about one thouſand, of which no more than fifty were armed with muſkets. That the diſtance of Hapuaſingo's capital was not more than a day and a half's march from the place we then were at; and that the roads were very good.

Upon this information, I promiſed my ally to maintain his quarrel, and required no more than one day to get ready, and ſixty horſes for my companions and their equipage. My promiſe tranſported the Prince with the greateſt joy, and induced him to declare Don Hieronimo his General of cavalry. I thanked him for this mark of confidence; but as I had need of him near me to ſerve as an interpreter, I begged the Prince to cauſe him to be declared in the mean time a principal officer, bearing the Prince's orders and mine, which were neceſſary to be implicitly obeyed. The Prince promiſed that every thing ſhould be done according to my deſire; and then I quitted him, to return to my camp with the Spaniard. Immediately on my return, I aſſembled my intimate friends, to whom I explained my intereſts and intention, which was ſupported by the aſſurance of our being able to eſtabliſh a colony hereafter on this iſland, under the guarantee and friendſhip of the Prince Huapo. But as it was of the utmoſt importance that the

company ſhould conſent, I directed my friends to excite them to make a requeſt to me to carry his project into execution. At day-break, the effect of this ſtratagem exceeded my expectation. When I came out of my tent, or rather barrack, I ſaw two deputies, who, in the name of the company, requeſted me to permit a certain number of them to aſſiſt the good Prince Huapo in his war againſt the Chineſe. On this meſſage I aſſembled the company, to whom I repreſented, that I thought it improper to comply with their demand, becauſe it was an abſurdity for us to interfere on ſuch ſlight grounds in this quarrel, ſo much as to ſend ſome of our number to aſſiſt in the enterprize. That an undertaking of this kind might effectually deſtroy all our hopes reſpecting the iſland, as it would be ſufficient for this purpoſe, that the Prince Huapo might be beaten. My ſpeech altered the countenance of my companions; but I ſoon revived their ſpirits, by declaring, that I was no leſs ſenſible than themſelves, of the importance of the ſervices we might render to Huapo; but as I was convinced that our whole reputation in the place depended on this meaſure, I begged them to chuſe forty reſolute men of their number, with whom I would myſelf go upon this expedition. On this declaration they demanded to caſt lots, and aſſured me, that they unanimouſly approved of my determination. I therefore left the care of regulating the lots to Mr. Cruſtiew, and nominated the officers myſelf, as follow:

The Left.	*The Center.*	*The Right.*
Mr. Kuzneczow,	Myſelf,	Mr. Wyndbladth,
Mr. Boſarew,	Mr. Stephanow,	Mr. Baturin,
13 Aſſociates.	Mr. Sibaew,	13 Aſſociates.
—	16 Aſſociates.	—
15	—	15
	18	

After

After having declared and fixed this order, I cauſed ammunition to be diſtributed, and ordered four patereros, which belonged to the ſhallop, to be got ready, with ſixty rounds of ball, and twenty of rubbiſh for each; and with a view that theſe pieces might be more effectually ſerviceable, I cauſed piquets to be ſhod with iron to drive into the ground, and provided each with a ſocket at top to fix the piece. This commiſſion was very ingeniouſly performed by Mr. Baturin. About ten we received ſixty horſes; but as eight more were wanting to tranſport our patereros and ammunition, I diſpatched Don Hieronimo, who brought them. This day we dined all together; and after having placed the command, in my abſence, in the hands of Mr. Cruſtiew, and Meſſrs. Gurcſinin, Meder, and Czurin under him, I took my leave of them.

Thurſday, September the 1ſt, 1771*. On the iſland of Formoſa, marching to aſſiſt the Prince Huapo in his war. At four, P. M. I entered the camp of the Prince, who immediately ſtruck his tents, and prepared to follow me, after having appointed one hundred and twenty horſemen, and four hundred infantry to clear the way. We did not halt till eleven o'clock, near a brook called Halavith. At four in the morning we renewed our march; and at ſeven Don Hieronimo, as we were deſcending a mountain, made

* Here is an inadvertence of the Count, with regard to time. Under the date of Auguſt the 31ſt, are included the adventures of three whole days, as appears by the ſucceſſion of the hours. It ſeems probable, that during his ſtay on ſhore, he kept minutes of the principal events, and afterwards divided them into day's tranſactions by memory; and that the preſent date ſhould be September the 3d; a ſuppoſition, which, by including the three following days in one, agrees very well with the Prince's aſſertion, (page 51.) that Hapuaſingo's capital was diſtant only a journey of one day and a half. T.

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me take notice of a ſmall town belonging to Huapo; but as we left it near a league diſtant on the right, I could not judge of its extent with any preciſion. Its environs, however, ſeemed to be well cultivated. At nine we halted to refreſh our horſes, whom they fed with rice; and, after having pitched our camp on the border of a wood, we remained there till four in the afternoon, to avoid marching in the noon-day heat, which was extreme.

Friday, September the 2d. At four in the afternoon, we reſumed our march, and continued our progreſs till ten at night; at which time we ſtopped in a valley, where we received twenty oxen loaded with rice, a quantity of fruit, and ſeveral caſks of a kind of brandy. At three in the morning we ſet out again, and continued till nine, when we came to a village with a pond of water near it, in which we caught ſome excellent fiſh. As I found this village abandoned by its inhabitants, I imagined it belonged to the enemy; and the information I received from the Spaniard, confirmed this opinion. From this, I had no doubt, but that Hapuaſingo was apprized of our invaſion; and for that reaſon I ſhould have been glad to have converſed with the Prince. And as he only followed me at the diſtance of a march, I thought it proper to wait for him.

Saturday, September the 3d. Encamped near a deſerted village. The Prince Huapo did not appear till near five o'clock. I took the liberty to remonſtrate with him for his ſlowneſs; which he excuſed, by repreſenting, that his troops being loaded with proviſions, could not march ſo quickly. At three in the morning we reſumed our march; and at half-paſt four, being in the van with Don Hieronimo, we obſerved thirty or forty horſemen before us. I immediately

diately advanced with ſix aſſociates, and the Spaniard. They paid no attention to us till they ſuppoſed us to be in their reach; and then, turning about, they came on full gallop, with their lances in their hands. Their courage was, however, not a little diſconcerted, by the firſt report of our fire arms, which diſmounted two of them, whom we made priſoners. From them we learned, by the examination of Don Hieronimo, that we ſhould ſoon ſee the main army advancing towards us; and that we were then at no greater diſtance from the capital than a ſix hours march.

The reſt of my troops having joined me, we continued our march without ſeeing any thing remarkable, except ſome villages on our right and left, and a prodigious quantity of cattle. As we were now very near the enemy, I pitched my camp to advantage, and fixed my patereros for its defence. About noon we perceived a troop of about an hundred horſe, who approached to examine us at leiſure; which I permitted, with the intention of familiarizing them with us.

Sunday, September the 4th. At two o'clock we obſerved another body of upwards of fifty horſemen on our right; and at laſt, a great number of troops, amounting at leaſt to ten or twelve thouſand men, but very few cavalry. As I made no movement, theſe troops began to prepare for the attack; and at the ſame time I put my men in readineſs to keep up a continued fire. I was deſirous of working the patereros myſelf; and for that reaſon had them brought near the center. About half paſt three, a party of about twenty horſe approached to inſult an outpoſt which I had ſet. As ſoon as they came within reach, I fired a few ſhot at them, which had no other effect than

that of intimidating them. They ſoon, however, recovered from their apprehenſions, and diſpoſed their whole troop to attack me; but their reception was ſo warm, that near two hundred were ſlain. This loſs, inſtead of checking their impetuoſity, appeared to increaſe their fury. They came on a ſecond time; and, after very conſiderable loſs, were forced at laſt to retreat. I purſued them for two hours, when the approach of night obliged me to halt.

The Prince did not come up with us till eleven, and a council was held, wherein it was determined to attack the enemy in our turn. At two I diſpoſed our troops in order, and placed a diviſion of my comrades on each wing, and myſelf, with my own diviſion, occupied the center. At three we marched towards the enemy; and when we had arrived very near them, we waited only for the break of day to commence the attack. At three quarters after four the attack began; but the noiſe of our patereros and muſkets was ſufficient to put them to flight. This loſs was ſo much the more conſiderable, as they had no thought of providing for a retreat. The greateſt number retired into the town. The ſpirit of the troops of Huapo likewiſe carried them before us, in which ſituation the enemy, no longer intimidated by our fire arms, turned upon them, and began a dreadful ſlaughter, which however ceaſed at our approach, as ſoon as we could make uſe of our arms.

While the battle began in the city, Don Hieronimo propoſed to ſend fifty horſe to the other ſide of the town, to prevent Hapuaſingo from eſcaping. I immediately gave orders for twenty of my aſſociates, under Meſſrs. Stephanow and Baturin, to perform this office; and they were ſo fortunate as to make Hapuaſingo priſoner, with four of his women,

women, with whom he was endeavouring to make his eſcape. This capture decidedthe whole quarrel; for he promiſed to Don Hieronimo to comply with all the demands of Huapo, on condition the lives of himſelf and family ſhould be ſpared. When he came before me, I declared that he was my priſoner; and that ſo far from being deſirous of putting him to death, I ſhould wiſh to cultivate his friendſhip, on condition of his giving every ſatisfaction to Huapo, who was juſtly irritated. About eleven, all the noiſe of war having ſubſided, I cauſed enquiry to be made after Huapo, in order to put Hapuaſingo into his hands: but as this Prince was deſirous of being a ſpectator, inſtead of an actor, he did not return till about noon; at which time I delivered Hapuaſingo to him, on condition that he ſhould not ſuffer any perſonal injury: and then I thought proper to encamp on the other ſide of the town.

Monday, September the 5th. In camp, near the Town of Xiaguamay, on the iſland of Formoſa. At three, I received a viſit from Huapo, accompanied with Bamini, who overwhelmed me with proteſtations of friendſhip; and, as I underſtood that all the operations of war were ended, I declared to the Prince my reſolution to return, and ſet ſail, as early as poſſible. This information was very unpleaſant to him; but as he was convinced that he ſhould not ſucceed in attempting to diſſuade me from my purpoſe, he contented himſelf with entreating me to return as ſoon as poſſible, which I ſolemnly promiſed to do. This day we regulated the order of my departure; and the manner in which the province was to ſupply me with proviſions, purſuant to the order of the Prince. In the evening, Don Hieronimo requeſted me to leave one of my companions

behind to aſſiſt him in his functions. On his preſſing entreaty, I perſuaded young Loginow, whoſe brother had been ſlain, to fix his reſidence here till my return, in order to learn the language of the country, and aſſiſt our future operations.

The next morning I received the Prince's preſents, conſiſting in ſome fine pearls, eight quintals of ſilver, and twelve pounds of gold. He apologized for the ſmallneſs of the preſent, on account of his diſtance from home, and becauſe my precipitate departure prevented his making it more conſiderable. But with regard to myſelf, he ſent me a box, containing one hundred pieces of gold, weighing in the whole thirteen pounds and a quarter; and gave orders to Bamini to accompany us with one hundred and twenty horſemen, to provide for our ſubſiſtence. Don Hieronimo likewiſe attended me as interpreter; and I gave orders for our departure at four in the evening.

Tueſday, September the 6th. After renewing our oaths and engagements with the Prince Huapo, we took our leave at three; and I had the ſatisfaction to ſee, that he did not part with us without tears. At four we began our march; and at the moment that my troop filed off, I made the Prince a preſent of my patereros, with the greateſt part of the ammunition we had brought; at the ſame time, that I requeſted the favour that he would appoint our companion Loginow, who ſtaid behind, his General of artillery. This he promiſed in his preſence. Our march was very eaſy and pleaſant; for we were mounted on good horſes, and went by the moſt direct road; and we were plentifully ſupplied with proviſion of all kinds, at the places where we halted.

Wedneſday,

Wedneſday, September the 7th. We continued our march through a pleaſant and well cultivated country, watered with fine rivers, and very populous, as we could judge by the ſmall diſtance from one village to another. Whenever we reſted, we were ſurrounded by a multitude of people, who brought preſents. Their good will was, however, chargeable to us by the returns we made. This day I made an offer to Bamini, of part of the gold and ſilver I had received of the Prince; but he poſitively refuſed to accept it, ſaying, that he was contented in poſſeſſing my friendſhip, which he begged I would preſerve till my return.

Thurſday, September the 8th. At three, P. M. we at length arrived at our camp very much fatigued, and exhauſted with the exceſſive heat we had ſuffered, as there had been no rain during the whole of our excurſion. General Bamini, after having given the neceſſary orders to the chief inhabitants of the country reſpecting our ſubſiſtence, took leave of me. He embraced all my aſſociates one after the other; and at the inſtant of his departure, he put into my hands a collar of pearls on the part of the Prince, and a rich tent, with a carpet of ſuperior workmanſhip.

After the departure of Bamini, I received the congratulations of my companions, and ſaw with the greateſt ſatisfaction, that Mr. Cruſtiew had diſpoſed of every thing in the beſt manner. In the evening, being deſirous of giving my companions a mark of liberality, I diſtributed among them the whole of the ſilver and gold by weight; and I put the pearls and the box of gold, which had been privately given me, into the hands of my intimate friends, the officers and women. When the aſſociates were informed,

that I had kept nothing for myſelf, they propoſed each to give me a half ſhare of their poſſeſſions; but I refuſed, and begged them to preſerve the whole, and to reſerve their generous diſpoſition for ſome future occaſion, if I ſhould find it neceſſary to apply to them for aſſiſtance; in which caſe I ſhould not ſcruple to have recourſe to them for a loan.

This conduct on my part ſeemed to elevate their minds, and gave me a perfect empire over them. And at this moment I was convinced, that though a man of genius may avail himſelf of his ſuperiority over common minds, yet, an act of generoſity at a proper time, is worth a thouſand ſpeeches, however eloquent.

After the company had ſeparated, none remained but my intimate friends, who endeavoured to perſuade me to fix my reſidence at Formoſa, in the province which the Prince Huapo had ceded to me. They repreſented, that the aſſociates being this day witneſſes of the mildneſs of my command, and guided by the moſt profound reſpect towards me, would be ſufficient to form a colony; and that we might beſides ſend, by the way of China, at ſome future time, certain emiſſaries into Europe, to engage ſome ſovereign power in our intereſts; or, at all events, to raiſe recruits. Their opinions were ſo well ſupported, that at laſt I could make no other objection, than my own peculiar intereſts; namely, that I had a wife who loved and was attached to me by the bond of marriage, and who probably at that inſtant had a child, as ſhe was with child at the time of my departure. But, in order to conceal my own private ſentiments, though I communicated as much to them as I thought neceſſary, I did not fail to repreſent, that

that a perſon on the ſpot could do more than a thouſand written meſſages; and that, therefore, upon my return in Europe, I might reaſonably expect to obtain the favour of ſome court, as we could aſſure them the greateſt advantages; ſuch as that of forming an eſtabliſhment in the Aleuthes iſlands, to carry on the rich commerce of furs; to open the trade of Japan; to form an eſtabliſhment on the iſlands Lequeio; and laſtly, to eſtabliſh an European colony on the iſland of Formoſa. I expreſſed my firm aſſurance, that theſe propoſitions would inſure our happy ſucceſs; and that in caſe the European courts ſhould abandon us, we ſhould always have it in our power to carry our project into execution, by the fitting out of private veſſels. This reaſoning at laſt determined them, and they requeſted permiſſion to explain it to the whole company; for they aſſured me, that every individual was reſolved to demand my conſent, not to quit the iſland of Formoſa.

After having gained this eſſential point, I retired to reſt, which was very neceſſary to me; and did not awake till ten the next morning. When I aroſe, I received the deputies of the company, who, having been informed by Mr. Cruſtiew of my intention, had paid reſpect to it, though they had already made a different determination themſelves; for which reaſon they confined their requeſt to that of deſiring that I would not quit the iſland until the 12th of the month, in order that they might have time to recover themſelves from the fatigues and difficulties they had undergone. I granted their requeſt with ſo much the more readineſs, as in reality the fatigue of our march had been exceſſive, and the good conduct of my companions was ſuch as led me to comply with every requeſt they might make. I therefore

fore promiſed to remain on the iſland until the 12th; and my conſent was followed by expreſſions of the moſt lively gratitude on their part. This day the whole company dined together.

Friday, September the 9th. After dinner, I gave orders for putting an end to all work, that all the aſſociates might follow their recreations, except a guard of ſix on board, and four on ſhore. The officers likewiſe ſeized this opportunity to make ſome excurſions into the country; and, for my part, I employed myſelf in drawing up ſome notes reſpecting the project of forming a colony on the iſland. Theſe were as follow:

Some notions and details reſpecting the iſland of Formoſa; and the plan of forming an European colony there.

The iſland of Formoſa is called by the Chineſe, Touaiouai; and by the natives Paccahimba. It is one of the fineſt and richeſt iſlands of the known world. The ſoil, in an infinity of places, produces two harveſts of rice and other grain, with a great variety of trees, fruits, plants, animals, and birds. Cattle, ſheep, goats, and poultry, are very abundant here. This iſland is interſected by great rivers, lakes, and waters, abounding with fiſh. It has many commodious harbours, bays, and ſounds on its coaſts. Its mountains produce gold, ſilver, cinnabar, white and brown copper; and likewiſe pit coal.

The iſland of Formoſa is divided into eight principalities, three of which, ſituated on the Weſtern ſide, are governed by the Chineſe, and peopled by the ſame nation. Every year an Ambaſſador arrives from China, to receive tribute from theſe three provinces, which is raiſed by a poll tax; and the Emperor of China keeps five hundred

veſſels for the purpoſe of annually exporting this tribute, which conſiſts of a large quantity of rice, wheat, millet, ſalt, beans, raw ſilk, cotton, gold, ſilver and mercury. The Governors of theſe three provinces continually extend their poſſeſſions, either by alliance or intrigue, in ſuch a manner, that they have obtained ſeveral towns and diſtricts from their neighbours.

The inhabitants of the iſland are civilized, except thoſe who live on the Eaſtern coaſts. They are of an effeminate diſpoſition, without any marks of courage; given to indolence, and are indebted to the goodneſs of the climate for their preſervation, as the ſoil ſupports them with very little labour. If we except the three Chineſe provinces, the mines on the iſland are no where worked. They are contented to waſh the ſand to extract gold out of it; and if they find pearls in the ſhells, it is by mere accident. The common people of Formoſa are cloathed only in blue cotton cloth; the towns are always built in the plains; and the villages are upon the mountains. The houſes of people of condition among them are extenſive and beautiful, but plain. Thoſe of the people are mere huts; and they are not permitted to build better. Moſt of them are covered with ſtraw and reeds, and are divided or ſeparated from each other by rows of palliſadoes; their moveables are nothing more than what neceſſity has rendered indiſpenſible. In the houſes of men of rank, there are advanced rooms, in which they eat, receive ſtrangers, and divert themſelves. The apartments of the women are always ſeparate, and apart from the houſe. Though they are built within the court, no one is permitted to approach them. In this country there are no inns for travellers; but

but thoſe who are on a journey ſit themſelves down near the firſt houſe they come to, and the maſter of the houſe ſoon after receives them, and entertains them with rice and ſome fleſh meat, with tobacco and tea.

The only commerce of the inhabitants of Formoſa is with ſome Japaneſe barks, who touch here, and with the Chineſe.

In each province there are five or ſix towns, which have eſtabliſhments for inſtructing youth in reading and writing. Their characters of writing, and for the expreſſion of numbers, are as difficult as thoſe of the Chineſe. Their pronunciation is ſometimes quick and elevated, and at other times ſlow and grave. They obtain their books from China. There are ſorcerers or diviners here, who have a great influence over the people. Their religion conſiſts in adoring one God, and in the performance of good offices to their neighbours. The provinces which are not conquered, are governed by Princes or Kings, who have an abſolute power over their ſubjects. None of theſe laſt, without any exception of the great men, has any property in the lands. They receive the advantages of their lands, ſubject to the good pleaſure of the Prince, as well as the gains they derive from the multitude of their ſlaves. Some of the principal people have as many as one, or even two thouſand. The princes always compoſe their councils of their principal military officers, and always keep their troops on foot, divided into four, five, and ſix diviſions, which remain conſtantly on the frontiers. The body guard of the Sovereigns conſiſts of no more than five or ſix hundred young men, born of the principal families among their ſubjects. The ancient ſoldiers are employed in the command of towns or villages;

villages, for there is no village in Formoſa which is not commanded by a ſoldier, and each commander is obliged to preſent annually to his ſuperior, a liſt of the people under his juriſdiction. Formoſa being ſurrounded by the ſea, theſe princes conſtantly maintain a certain number of veſſels, each of which has two maſts and twenty-four oars; they do not uſe cannon, but make great uſe of artificial fire works.

A plan for forming a colony on the iſland Formoſa.

Previous to entering into the project of eſtabliſhing a colony, it will be neceſſary to mention a few maxims.

1. Before any attempt is made to found a colony, it muſt be previouſly conſidered, whether its eſtabliſhment be intended to be made upon a military or mercantile footing; and whether it be propereſt to cultivate the commerce of exchange, of œconomy, or of induſtry?

2. In the formation of a colony, it is neceſſary to conciliate the benevolence, the confidence, and the attachment of the natives of the country. When a ſuperiority is acquired over their minds, their own proper impulſes will render the coloniſts maſters of the country; and in this caſe it will be eaſy to eſtabliſh the conſtitution intended to be adopted, or to ſet on foot that kind of commerce which is propoſed. The conſtitution may likewiſe be maintained with very little force, and the country defended againſt the attempts of foreigners.

3. It is neceſſary that the baſis of the colony be military, animated by glory; for in that caſe it may conquer, but will never be conquered.

4. The ſalubrity of the place of eſtabliſhment muſt be aſcertained, and no labour neglected that may tend to procure this advantage ſo neceſſary to humanity,

5. It is required to make ſure of the poſſeſſion of good harbours, fertile grounds, and the courſe of the principal rivers, to comprehend all the branches of commerce; to carry cultivation to its utmoſt extent; and to facilitate by theſe two branches the different departments of induſtry.

6. In an infant colony it is proper to avoid fortifications of the firſt order, and to eſtabliſh the chief place in the inner part of the country; where, conſequently, it will be out of the reach of any ſudden ſtroke. In this manner, when a colony is maſter of the country, the firſt attack of an enemy, and the capture of a poſt, eſtabliſhed near the ſea coaſt, will not decide the poſſeſſion.

7. The multiplicity of councils, and the number of people employed, muſt be reduced to the ſmalleſt number, which can be diſpenſed with in the management of the affairs of the colony.

8. Luxury muſt be baniſhed; but it will be proper to eſtabliſh external marks of grandeur, according to the different ranks of citizens who form the colony; as by this means emulation will be encouraged.

9. Induſtry muſt be encouraged and recompenſed by gradual tranſition from one claſs of citizens to another, and by procuring to the coloniſts the ſale of their commodities. The money which is thus diſperſed among the coloniſts in the purchaſe of productions, always returns to government in the courſe of exchanges.

10. Reſtraint

10. Reſtraint of conſcience muſt be baniſhed and prohibited for ever. Happy is he who ſhall eſtabliſh toleration, and the belief of one only God.

11. A code of laws ought to be eſtabliſhed in favour of ſlavery; in which, means ſhould be appointed to enable this unfortunate order of men to arrive, by the force of labour and induſtry, to the rank of free citizens.

12. Population being the only true foundation of national force, it will be neceſſary that government ſhould encourage it by ſacrifices, and preſerve it by law. It will ſucceed by puniſhing libertiniſm ſeverely, and by granting privileges and gratifications to fathers and mothers, who ſhall have preſented a number of children, the iſſue of their marriages.

It is therefore on theſe principles that I ſhould wiſh to eſtabliſh a colony on the iſland of Formoſa, ſuppoſing that an European power ſhould accept my offers.

1. I ſhould demand, that this power ſhould confine itſelf to the Suzerainity; and, on this principle, it ſhould poſſeſs no other advantages but ſuch as are derived from ſubſidies, and the commerce of its European ſubjects.

2. Conformably to this plan, I ſhould require three armed veſſels; one of four hundred and fifty tons, another of two hundred and fifty tons, and another of one hundred and fifty tons, with proviſions for eighteen months.

3. And likewiſe permiſſion to raiſe a body of workmen, of different kinds, to the number of twelve hundred men, with the neceſſary officers whom I ſhould chuſe.

4. That I ſhould be furniſhed with a neceſſary quantity of arms, ammunition, and the value of one million two

hundred thouſand livres, in articles of trade, which I ſhould point out.

5. That for the ſpace of three years, permiſſion ſhould be granted me to raiſe recruits to the number of four hundred men yearly, and the tranſport of two hundred foundling children of both ſexes annually.

6. That permiſſion ſhould be granted to all the ſubjects of the ſovereign power to trade with the new colony.

7. That permiſſion ſhould be granted me to eſtabliſh warehouſes and factories in its colonies.

Theſe articles being granted, I would ſtipulate,

1. That the new colony ſhould furniſh a certain ſum of money annually, to the power who had protected it, as a grateful acknowledgement.

2. That the colony ſhould aſſiſt its protector in every war, by furniſhing a ſtipulated number of ſoldiers and ſeamen.

3. That no merchandize, or objects of European luxury, ſhould be admitted into the new colony, except the product or manufacture of the dominions of its protector.

4. That the whole ſum advanced in fitting out armed veſſels, with the ammunition and objects of commerce, on account of the new colony, ſhould be entered into a regular charge; that the intereſt ſhould be paid during the three firſt years, and the capital reimburſed during the fourth.

Theſe ſtipulations being thus fixed, I would repair to port Maurice, where, conformably to the treaty entered into with the Prince Huapo, I would diſembark; and, after having eſtabliſhed a military poſt, I would repair to the capital of the province which has been ceded to me.

Saturday, September the 10th. The aſſociates came to work of themſelves, and began to load the veſſel. This day Don Hieronimo entered into an oath with me before the whole company; in which he engaged to ſupport the favourable diſpoſition of the Prince towards me. I made him a preſent of ſeveral Latin books, and ſome arms.

Sunday, September the 11th. I gave orders for our embarkment, and the natives of the country aſſiſted us with the utmoſt readineſs, with every thing in their power. This day Mr. Stephanow aſked leave to go on ſhore, which I durſt not conſent to, as I had reaſon to fear the wickedneſs of his character, which certainly might have deſtroyed all our credit and intereſt on this iſland. But as I was not deſirous that the refuſal ſhould come from me, I promiſed to explain his wiſh to the company; and promiſed, that the moment they gave their conſent, I would make no objection. I gave orders for the immediate calling together of the company on board, in the morning, to decide on this affair; but Stephanow was ſcarcely gone, before I aſſembled a committee, to whom I communicated his intention. Every individual, urged by the ſame motives as myſelf, oppoſed his purpoſe; and ſeveral among them undertook to induce the whole company to refuſe him. I employed this night in writing out inſtructions for Don Hieronimo, and at day-break I went on board, accompanied by him. After I had taken a formal leave of the iſlanders, at ten I put a letter for the Prince Huapo, into the hands of Don Hieronimo, with inſtructions for Mr. Loginow, who at laſt took leave of us, and returned on ſhore. Immediately after his departure, the company aſſembled, and deliberated upon the propoſition

propoſition of Mr. Stephanow. Their determination was, that it was impoſſible to ſuffer any other perſon to go on ſhore; and more eſpecially Mr. Stephanow, who had given ſo many proofs of his evil intentions. This unhappy man, urged by deſpair and rage, attempted to throw himſelf overboard; and by his outrageous deportment, obliged me, at length, to order him into confinement. In the mean time, we weighed anchor, and ſet ſail under the two top-ſails, with the boats a-head, as well as five or ſix of the country boats, who were ready to come to our aſſiſtance, as the road was difficult.

According to the Report, all the company in good health, the veſſel making no water.

Monday, September the 12th. A light breeze at E. S. E. with fair clear weather. When we had got to the mouth of the harbour, it fell calm; which obliged me to tow the veſſel out by the boats, where I anchored in ſixteen fathom water. At ſun-ſet the wind ſprung up at S. E. and I ſet ſail, and ſtood to the Northward, in order to double the Northernmoſt extremity of the iſland of Formoſa. In the night the wind ſlackened, and we ſaw many fires on ſhore. At eight, A. M. we diſcovered two iſlands a-head, with a channel between them of ſufficient extent, to induce me to ſail through it. At eleven, ſaw a large veſſel at the diſtance of three leagues to the Northward, and prepared to chace her; but finding ſhe outſailed us, I gave up the attempt.

According to the Report, all in good health. The ſhip making no water.

Latitude in 24° 15′ N. Longitude in 324° 08′. Wind S. E. Current from S. to N. Courſe N. N. E.

Tueſday, September the 13th. Fine weather, inclining to ſqually. This day Mr. Stephanow was releaſed from confinement; and I declared to the company, my reſolution to direct our courſe to Macao. In the night the weather was moderate, and we continued our courſe very agreeably.

According to the Report, all in good health.

Latitude in 25° 15′ N. Longitude in 323° 56′. Wind S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. Current from S. to N. Courſe N. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.

Wedneſday, September the 14th. Squally weather. Saw a quantity of water ſnakes. In the night, continual rain, with thunder and lightning. Sounded ſeveral times, but got no ground.

According to the Report, all well.

Latitude in 24 41′ N. Longitude 322° 00′. Wind S. E. Current from N. to S. Courſe S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.

Thurſday, September the 15th. Cloſe cloudy weather throughout, with heavy rain. At three, A. M. ſounded, and got ground at thirty fathoms, fine ſand, and broken ſhells; and we obſerved a very ſtrong current from N. to S. At day-break, ſaw a quantity of fiſhing boats around us. At nine, the coaſt of China was in ſight, and I determined to go into ſome harbour. At ten, ſeveral fiſhing veſſels being near us, offered to ſell us ſome fiſh; and upon our expreſſing our willingneſs, ſeveral canoes immediately came along ſide, from whom we bought all their fiſh for twelve piaſtres. Two Chineſe among theſe fiſhermen, ſpoke a little Portugueze; and were at laſt perſuaded to pilot us into Macao. They demanded for this ſervice one hundred piaſtres; but in the mean time, requeſted leave to go on ſhore for their cloaths; to which

I con-

I conſented, on condition, that one only ſhould go on ſhore, while the other remained on board. This agreement being made, they conducted us to an anchoring place; where we came too in eighteen fathom, fine ſand and mud.

Friday, September the 16th. The pilot having returned on board, made me to underſtand his direction to weigh, and make ſail along the coaſt, in order to put in at Tanaſoa; and by way of explaining the reaſon, he ſaid, Mandarin hopchin malas, Mandarin tanajou bon bon malto bon; all which I made ſhift to comprehend wonderfully well. I therefore made ſail without delay, and ſtood along ſhore. At day-break, the pilot ſhewed me the bay of Tanaſoa, into which we entered, and anchored in five fathom water, oppoſite a caſtle, which I ſaluted with three guns, and received the ſame number in return. The pilot immediately went on ſhore, and did not return till ten o'clock, when he appeared, together with a Mandarin, and an interpreter. He demanded who I was; to what nation the ſhip belonged; where I came from, and whither I was bound? To this I replied, that I was an European, and one of the nobles of Hungary; that the veſſel had belonged to the Ruſſians, but having taken it from them, who were my enemies, it now belonged to myſelf; that I came from Kamchatka; was on my return to Europe, and propoſed to put in at Macao. The Mandarin wrote my anſwers with a hair pencil, and ſaid, he was ſurprized to ſee Hungarians arrive at China. He afterwards aſked, what I was in want of; and being told that I wanted freſh proviſions, he conſented that a party of my companions ſhould go on ſhore

ſhore with the interpreters. I therefore availed myſelf of this permiſſion, to ſend Meſſrs. Winbladth and Kuznec-zow on ſhore, accompanied with ſix of our companions, to carry my preſents to the Governor. They conſiſted in a beaver's ſkin, and two ſables.

Saturday, September the 17th. At anchor at Tanaſoa, before the town. At five, P. M. my officers returned, and brought word, that the Mandarin had accepted my preſents with pleaſure; and had ſent me in return, a ſervice of porcelain, with two cheſts of tea, ſix cows, and twelve hogs, with a quantity of poultry, and a kind of arrack. The aſſociates brought an hundred different kinds of ſweetmeats, and ſome toys, very nicely wrought. The interpreter acquainted me, that the Mandarin was deſirous of purchaſing ſome furs, but ſecretly; I therefore ſent one hundred and fifty beavers, and three hundred ſables; in return for which, he ſent ſix thouſand eight hundred piaſtres, in three caſks. Here I had additional cauſe to regret the loſs of my furs. My companions likewiſe opened a trade with the inhabitants, and ſold every ſcrap of bear's ſkin they could collect. In the night ſeveral Chineſe veſſels anchored near us, and my companions went on board them. They aſſured me, that every boat had ſeveral cabins, which were filled with girls, who ſold their favours. A. M. Set up the rigging, and cleaned the ſhip thoroughly. My companions were incommoded by the quantity of fruit they eat on ſhore, and ſix of them were taken with illneſs.

Sunday, September the 18th. My pilot took notice that the wind was favourable, and that we ought to take advantage of it. I therefore ſet ſail, and after ſtanding

off ſhore, I directed my courſe to the Southward, which was contrary to the wiſh of my pilot, who was abſolutely averſe to loſing ſight of the ſhore. The quantity of fiſhing boats we ſaw were innumerable. Towards the evening they all made for the ſhore; and as I was importuned by my pilot, I conſented to do the ſame. At day-break we ſaw many water ſnakes around us, ſome of which I cauſed to be taken, and the pilot eat them. At nine it fell calm, and at noon our latitude was by obſervation, 22° 32′. Eighteen of our people were this day ſick, which I attributed to the ſpirituous liquor they had drank.

Monday, September the 19th. The pilots enquired whether my veſſel drew more than ſix feet of water; and when I informed them that ſhe drew upwards of eight, they begged me to come to anchor; becauſe at the fourth hour of the tide, the depth of water at this place was eight or ten feet. The under current here was contrary to that at the ſurface. I therefore anchored, in compliance with their wiſhes, and I determined to note this obſervation in my journal, in order that more ſkilful navigators might, at ſome future time, aſcertain the fact. At ſix, P. M. weighed with a light breeze at Eaſt, and the tide in our favour. This night one of the women who was attached to Mr. Cſurin, was brought to bed. The Chineſe boats which ſurrounded us the whole night, made a conſiderable noiſe with their oars. At day-break we ſaw a fleet, at the head of which was a veſſel of prodigious magnitude, almoſt entirely gilt, and hung round with numberleſs ſtreamers. My pilots informed me that

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it was the Canton fleet, which carried the revenues to Pekin. We counted one hundred and eighty-ſix veſſels.

This day our ſick amounted to no more than eight.

Tueſday, September the 20th. This day I was attacked by a violent fever, for which the pilots adviſed me to eat an orange, roaſted in its juice, with ſugar, and a good deal of ginger. They prepared this remedy for me, and it produced a ſtrong perſpiration, which diſſipated my complaint. Meſſrs. Winbladth, Baturin, Gurcſinin, and Kuzneczow, with twelve others, were affected in the ſame manner. At eight, P. M. Mr. Sibaew acquainted me, that Mr. Stephanow, taking advantage of my indiſpoſition, had formed a party; but as he could not yet ſay what their intentions were, he promiſed to watch their motions. Sibaew had ſcarcely finiſhed his diſcourſe, before I heard a noiſe on board. I went out of my cabin, where I found Mr. Cruſtiew engaged in a quarrel with Stephanow. I gave orders to ſeize the latter; and after receiving the information, that this wretch had propoſed to the company, to ſign an act of complaint againſt me, to be delivered to the Governor of Macao on our arrival, I ordered him to be put in irons. This day we had twenty-two ſick.

Wedneſday, September the 21ſt. About ſix, P. M. anchored among the iſlands, called Ladrones, where we remained all night. At five, A. M. weighed, and at ten the pilots ſhewed me an iſland, which they called Omy; and at laſt made me underſtand, that Omy is the Chineſe name for Macao. At half paſt eleven we ſaw the fort, and the Portugueze colours diſplayed. At noon, being oppoſite the fort, I ſaluted it with twelve guns.

Thurſday, September the 22d. At half paſt one, P. M. we were fairly entering the harbour, where we ſaw ſeveral veſſels at anchor. At two, in paſſing the paſs,* I was hailed to come to anchor; but as I did not think it neceſſary to loſe time in ſuperfluous ceremonies, I entered the harbour, and anchored at laſt, near a frigate of forty guns, in four fathoms water. As ſoon as I had brought too, I ſaluted the Admiral's colours with twenty-four guns, and he anſwered with twelve.

I went on ſhore immediately after, and paſſing near the Commodore, I paid him a viſit. On my arrival at the Governor's, I was introduced into the hall, which I found full of prieſts and monks; among whom I perceived ſeveral negroes of the Canary iſlands. After ſome time, the Governor, M. de Saldagna, arrived, and received me with the greateſt politeneſs. When I had acquainted him with my misfortunes and my deliverance, he gave me permiſſion to hire houſes in the town, to accommodate my people, till I could find a favourable opportunity of conveying them to Europe. Several perſons of the magiſtracy, who were preſent, expreſſed ſome ſuſpicions of me; for which reaſon, to prevent debates, I thought proper to put my veſſel as a depoſit, in the hands of the Governor; reſerving only for each of my companions, the neceſſary arms, ſuch as guns, piſtols, and ſwords, which I likewiſe depoſited in the caſtle. After this convention, the Governor charged M. Hiſs, a gentleman of French extraction, but ſettled at Macao for ſome years, to aſſiſt me in my affairs, and ſerve as interpreter. At ſix, P. M. the guard having come on board, I cauſed all my people

* *Paſſant la paſſe*—I do not underſtand this. T

to go on ſhore. For the firſt day, my companions lodged in a public houſe, and the exceſs and avidity with which they devoured the bread and freſh proviſions, which they were now ſupplied with, coſt thirteen of them their lives. Theſe died ſuddenly, and twenty-four others were ſeized with dangerous illneſs.

September the 23d. M. Hiſs having found two convenient houſes, I hired them, and went to reſide in them with my companions. This day I dined with the Governor, in company with a number of prieſts, who from that moment aſpired to the glory of converting my aſſociates to the Roman religion. On my return home, I found all my people commodiouſly lodged, and an apartment completely fitted up for myſelf; the Governor having ſupplied the furniture out of his own houſe. I employed this day in making viſits to the Biſhop of Mitelopolis, the Procureur of the town, the different convents, and principal inhabitants. I likewiſe gave orders to clothe my companions uniformly, in red and white, as well as the officers; and the Portugueze ladies undertook to provide the apparel for our female fellow travellers. When the accounts were made up, theſe charges were eſtimated at eight thouſand piaſtres, and the monthly expence for lodging and proviſions, amounted to ſix thouſand two hundred piaſtres.

On the 24th, I received viſits from the Governor, and the principal men of the town, as well as from the Biſhop, accompanied with the different religious orders. Theſe all together, accompanied me to the Hoppo, or Chineſe Governor, who regaled us with tea and ſweetmeats. This day three more of my aſſociates died, and their converſion

ſion was publiſhed throughout the town. In the evening, a Dominican prieſt, and friend of the Governor, named Zunitta, came to me, and offered every aſſiſtance in his power; and as I thought I might diſpoſe of my furs by his aſſiſtance, I propoſed the buſineſs to him, and he conſented to take them. I therefore put into his hands four hundred and eighty beavers ſkins, five hundred ſables, and one hundred and eighty dozen ermines; and he agreed to pay me for each beaver fifty piaſtres, for each ſable ſix piaſtres, and for every dozen of ermines eight piaſtres; which produced the ſum of twenty-eight thouſand four hundred and forty piaſtres: the whole, and only remains of ſo conſiderable a fortune, as I had brought from Kamchatka! a ſcanty pittance, ſcarcely enough to pay the expences of putting into Macao.

This day, likewiſe, I gave orders to releaſe Mr. Stephanow from his confinement, having received a formal apology on his part. The town made me, on the ſame day, a preſent of one thouſand piaſtres in gold, with forty-two pieces of blue cloth, and twelve pieces of black ſatin. Their preſent was accompanied with a requeſt, that I would depoſit a copy of my journal in their archives. I promiſed the deputies, that I would give them an hiſtorical extract, as I could not act ſo much to the prejudice of my own intereſts, as to deprive myſelf of the merit of my manuſcripts. This day I dined with the Biſhop of Mitelopolis, Mr. le Bon, of French extraction; and I agreed with him that I would claim the protection of the French flag, for my paſſage to Europe, in which he promiſed me his advice and aſſiſtance.

On

On the 25th, Miſs Aphanaſia paid the debt of nature. Her premature death affected me greatly, and more eſpecially as it deprived me of the ſatisfaction of repaying her attachment, by her marriage with the young Popow, ſon of the Archimandrite, to whom I had given the ſurname of my family. This day I diſpatched Mr. Cruſtiew with letters to the Directors of the French Company, containing my reclamation of the protection of the colours of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. He returned on the 29th, and brought me a very favourable anſwer, and the aſſurance of my paſſage, which news was very acceptable to me.

At Macao, October the 3d, 1771. A certain Mr. Gohr, Captain in the ſervice of the Engliſh Company, came to ſee me, and made me offer of ſervices on the part of the Directors, and a free paſſage to Europe, provided I would bind myſelf to entruſt my manuſcripts to the Company, and engage to enter into their ſervice, and make no communication of the diſcoveries I had made. This propoſition, ſo evidently intereſted, diſguſted me; but I was contented to anſwer, that I was very ſenſible of the obliging offer he had made; but that, as I had accepted thoſe of the French Directors, it was not in my power to change my determination: that with reſpect to my entering into the ſervice of the Company, it did not appear to me to be ſo eaſy; becauſe it was not only neceſſary that I ſhould be aſſured of a ſuperior ſtation, but that in the mean time all my people ſhould be provided for; and that our common lot, and the execution of ſeveral projects ſhould be ſecured. My anſwer ſurprized Mr. Gohr, who took his leave in an affected manner. The moment after his departure, I learned that Mr. Stephanow had accompanied him; and from

from thence I inferred, that I ſhould ſtill find new cauſes of diſcontent on his part, which accordingly happened, as will appear in the ſequel.

On the 4th of October, I received a letter from Mr. L'Heureux, Director * for the Dutch Company. He ſent me a preſent of cloth, wine, beer, brandy, ſalt proviſions, and two thouſand piaſtres. His letter and preſents were accompanied with the offer of a paſſage for me to Batavia, and the aſſurance that I ſhould be received into the Company's ſervice. But, as he made the ſame propoſal as the Engliſh, I refuſed the acceptance of his preſents, except the liquors.

On the 6th, Mr. Jackſon, an Engliſh merchant eſtabliſhed at Macoa, arrived with Mr. Beyz. They renewed the propoſitions made by Mr. Gohr, and ſhewed me full powers, ſigned by the Engliſh Council at Canton, to regulate the conditions of my engagement, and to offer a preſent of fifteen thouſand guineas. The firſt *ſine qua non* was, that the Company, in conſideration of my conſigning my manuſcripts, and entering into their ſervice, ſhould grant me a penſion of four thouſand pounds ſterling, reverſible to my children; and that they ſhould ſettle on each officer a penſion of one hundred pounds, and each aſſociate thirty pounds; and that they ſhould give me every aſſiſtance in forming eſtabliſhments beyond China. On this firſt condition the Plenipotentiaries acknowledged, that they had not ſufficient authority to conclude with me, and retired, after begging that I would well conſider their offers. This evening the Governor informed me, that the four Engliſh

* Or Supercargo.

gentlemen

gentlemen had been with him, and that he thought ſeveral of my aſſociates were gained by the Engliſh. In fact, theſe gentlemen, piqued at their want of ſucceſs, raiſed embarraſſments among my people, in which Mr. Stephanow was of wonderful ſervice to them.

On the 12th, I received a letter from Mr. de Robien, Director of the French Company at Canton, wherein he informed me that two of the Company's ſhips, the Dauphin and the Laverdi, were ready to receive me and all my people on board. The ſame day Mr. Kuzneczow informed me, that he had diſcovered a plot, at the head of which was Stephanow, who had engaged to deliver my journals and papers to the Engliſh, for the ſum of five thouſand pounds ſterling; and to prove the fact, he ſhewed me a letter of Mr. Jackſon, wherein that merchant aſſerted, that Meſſrs. Gohr, Hume, and Beg, were ready to pay the ſum on the delivery of all my papers. On this information, I took all my papers out of my cheſt, and put them into the hands of the Archbiſhop of Mitelopolis, unperceived by any of my companions.

On the 15th, the aſſociates met by my order. I informed them, that I was aſſured that a number among them were diſcontented with me; for which reaſon I thought proper to declare to them, that all thoſe who were deſirous of ſeeking their fortune elſewhere, were at liberty to quit me; and that as they had all received a retribution at my hands at the iſland of Formoſa, I thought myſelf acquitted from them. I had ſcarcely made a finiſh, before Mr. Stephanow loaded me with invectives, and charged me with an intention of depriving the company of their ſhare of the advantages I was about to

receive, from the knowledge I had acquired during the voyage; and that the moderation I had ſhewn at Formoſa, in delivering my ſhare of the preſents of Prince Huapo, was merely a ſcheme to deprive them of greater advantages. He then excited the companions to throw off my authority, by aſſuring them that he would ſecure them a large fortune the inſtant they ſhould determine to put my papers in his hands, and follow his party. The infamous plot of this wretch was nothing extraordinary; but when I underſtood that he was ſupported by Mr. Wyndbladth, my ancient Major, the companion of my exile, and my friend, I was incapable of ſetting bounds to my indignation, and could not avoid declaring, that their proceedings were highly diſgraceful; and to confound them, I diſplayed their ſecret projects to the company, and juſtified my words by ſhewing Mr. Jackſon's letter, which convinced them that Meſſrs. Stephanow and Wyndbladth, under pretence of ſerving the company, were deſirous of ſecuring the five thouſand pounds to their own uſe. They were highly irritated, and threatened them; but Stephanow preſerved a party of eleven, with whom he went to my lodgings; and while I remained in converſation with my friends, he ſeized my box, in which he ſuppoſed my papers were depoſited. As ſoon as I heard of this outrage, I went to his chamber, followed by twenty aſſociates; and as he refuſed to open the door, I broke it down. On my entrance he fired a piſtol at me, which miſſed. In conſequence of this attempt, I gave orders for ſeizing and keeping him in ſtrict confinement; and as it was neceſſary likewiſe to ſecure Mr. Wyndbladth, I went to his chamber; but he had retired into the garden, armed with a pair of piſtols and a

ſabre. I determined to ſhut him in, being convinced that he could not get over the walls on account of their great height. This whole affair paſſed without the leaſt alarm without, as the doors of the houſe were ſhut.

On the 16th, Mr. Wyndbladth, fatigued by a continual rain, and perhaps urged by hunger, requeſted forgiveneſs, and ſurrendered himſelf to two companions I had appointed to watch him. Having thus made ſure of theſe two turbulent men, I thought it proper they ſhould be ſeparated from the company; and they were therefore conducted to the caſtle by permiſſion of the Governor. The officers of our company, being deſirous of avenging themſelves on the Engliſh emiſſaries, played them a trick, the whole effect of which fell upon a Jewiſh agent, who was ſeverely flogged. Upon this wretch there were found minutes of propoſals which he made to the companions, as follow:

1. That the Engliſh would pay to each aſſociate one thouſand piaſtres, in caſe they would ſerve the company, and put my papers in his hands.

2. That in caſe the aſſociates refuſed to take the Engliſh party, the company would arreſt them by force, in the name of the Empreſs of Ruſſia, to deliver them up.

4. That the company would anſwer for obtaining the Empreſs's pardon for them, if they would determine to make a voyage to Japan, and the Aleuthes Iſlands.

Such proceedings cannot be attributed to men of ſenſe. It was in my opinion a forgery, concerted between Mr. Stephanow and the Jew, to excite the aſſociates againſt me.

On the 22d, I was attacked by a violent fever, and the Governor had the goodneſs to offer me an apartment in his

houſe. I accepted his offer with the more pleaſure, as the noiſe of my companions was inſupportable. I therefore entruſted the command this day to Mr. Cruſtiew, and retired to the Governor's, where my illneſs continued till the 18th of November. During this period, four of my aſſociates and three of their women died. The following is a liſt of thoſe who died at Macao:

Miſs Aphanaſia du Nilow,
Meſſ. Maxim Cſurin,
Aſaph Baturin,
Philip Zablikow,
Nicolas Perevalow,
John Perevalow,
The Wife of Perevalow,
Andrew Maſchinſkoy,
George Panow,
Gregory Novozilow,
Stephen Kazakow,
Alexander Ziran,
Meſſ. George Nolinkin,
George Voronow,
Alexis Juſka,
Cath. Kuzmika,
Alexis Zacharka,
Boleſlaus Sipſkoy,
Laurence Chodin,
Prince Zadſkoy,
Nicolas Zarſkoy,
Caſimir Levantiew,
James Lubimoy.

The great number of deaths in ſo ſhort a time, gave me a very unfavourable opinion of the climate of China, at leaſt of the Southern Provinces of the empire.

On the 25th of November, the Governor, ſeeing my health eſtabliſhed, and being determined to lodge me in future among my companions, informed me that during my illneſs he had had great debates with the Chineſe on my account, becauſe the Engliſh Directors had informed them, that I was a pirate, and deſerter from the Ruſſians; and that upon this information, the Governor or Viceroy of

Canton, had required the Governor to deliver me up, or, at all events to make me depart immediately; and that he had obtained a delay till my recovery. For this reaſon he adviſed me to pretend that my illneſs ſtill continued, until the time the French veſſels ſhould be ready to ſail. From his embarraſſment, I perceived he was apprehenſive that he might find my affair troubleſome to himſelf. I therefore begged him to remain neuter, and undertook to terminate the buſineſs with the Chineſe myſelf.

On the 26th, I ſecretly diſpatched Mr. Hiſs and Mr. Cruſtiew to Canton, with a memorial for the Viceroy, and a letter for Mr. Robien, in order that he might preſent it at the audience of the Chineſe chief.

My deputies did not return till the 3d of December; when they brought me a chopp, or permiſſion to wait upon the Viceroy at Canton. This imperial officer ſent a ſuperb veſſel, with ſixty-four oars for me, and cauſed a letter to be written to me, importing, that he was informed of the falſity of the inſinuations againſt me, and hoped to convnice me of the juſtice, which the Chineſe knew how to render to heroes like me. This diſpoſition was very flattering; but my ſatisfaction was of ſhort duration, for on the 5th, which was fixed for my departure, the Mandarin, Hoppo of Macao, let me know, that if I did not intend to travel as far as Pekin, it was of no uſe to go to Canton, as the Viceroy had nothing to communicate. This ſudden change ſurprized every one, and eſpecially the Biſhop of Mitelopolis, who was ſtrongly intereſted in my favour. I was in doubt with myſelf this day, whether I ſhould go to Pekin. I was greatly affected; for I ſhould have been exceedingly gratified with the

the view of the capital, and interior parts of the Chineſe empire; and a favourable opportunity now preſented itſelf: but to have embraced it, would have required me to abandon my project, and defer my return to Europe. It was not till after much deliberation, that I at laſt determined to give up my intention of going to Canton.

On the 6th of December, my Japaneſe traveller appeared again, having ſuffered an illneſs of ten weeks. His recovery was very agreeable to me, as his perſon intereſted me ſtrongly. This day, upon examining my cheſts, I found that the collections I had made of various kinds, in the courſe of my voyages, had diſappeared; and I at laſt heard, to my extreme grief, that Stephanow and Wyndbladth had ſold the whole to the Engliſh Jew. I immediately ſent after him; but the raſcal had retired, after his correction, to Canton. Mr. Sibaew aſſured me, that the Jew had bought the whole for one thouſand five hundred piaſtres; whereas the pearls alone which I had, were worth five times that ſum.

On the 7th, the Biſhop of Mitelopolis informed me, that he was informed by the Secretary of the Hoppo, (a Chriſtian in ſecret) that the declaration of his maſter was falſe, and that the Viceroy was angry at not ſeeing me. He attributed this conduct to the intrigues of Mr. Jackſon, and endeavoured to perſuade me to write another memorial to the Viceroy; but as I thought this ſtep of no advantage to my intereſts, I refuſed to comply with his advice, being contented with being permitted to remain undiſturbed at Macao.

On the 10th, I aſſembled all my companions, and propoſed to them to embark on board the French ſhips, in order

order to return to Europe. They conſented, and ſubmitted entirely to my orders. This day, having received the apology and entreaties of Mr. Wyndbladth, I releaſed him from confinement; but as I could not place the ſame confidence in Mr. Stephanow, I paid him four thouſand piaſtres, with leave to go where he pleaſed. He immediately took part with the Hollanders, whoſe director, M. L'Heureux, expecting to derive ſome information from him concerning our voyage, received him, and ſent him to Batavia.

On the 20th, I gave orders to make every preparation for our departure, having this day received the conventions, ſigned between me and the Captain, M. de St. Hilaire, in the ſervice of the French Eaſt-India Company. Theſe conventions were ratified by M. Robis,* Director of the Company; in which I engaged to pay the ſum of one hundred and fifteen thouſand livres Tournois, for the paſſage of myſelf, and all my people, to L'Orient.

On the 26th, having received information that it was neceſſary I ſhould be provided with a chopp, or order of the Viceroy, to permit me to enter the river Tigu, I ſent Mr. Hiſs, as my commiſſioner for that purpoſe, to the Viceroy.

January the 1ſt, 1772. M. Hiſs returned with the order, which coſt me four hundred and fifty piaſtres for three boats, which had been permitted to carry myſelf and people to the mouth of the Tigu.

On the 2d, I ſold my veſſel to a Portugueze merchant, for the ſum of four thouſand five hundred piaſtres, ready

* Robien is the name of the Director mentioned page 81, where it is written in the M S. in the Count's hand-writing. T.

money,

money, and as much on credit. The Governor reſerved to himſelf the whole of the ſtores.

From the 5th to the 12th, I was employed in liquidating my accounts; and after having ſettled every thing, I found myſelf totally deſtitute. On the 13th, I took my leave of the Governor, and chiefs of the town; and in the evening I embarked on board three ſampans, with all my people, to go on board the French veſſels, which were appointed to receive us at the time of their leaving the harbour of Canton.

On the 14th, we quitted Macao, where the Governor ſaluted me with twenty-one guns, from the principal fortreſs; and, after a tedious paſſage, we arrived at laſt at the mouth of the Tigu; where we were very civilly received by a Mandarin, though he at firſt refuſed to permit us to go on ſhore. The ſight of a purſe of piaſtres, however, abated his ſeverity; which was ſo much altered by this circumſtance, that he offered permiſſion for us to take lodgings in the fort. His complaiſance was very acceptable, for the ſhips did not arrive till the 22d; and in the mean time, I was at liberty to ride out on horſeback, accompanied by ſome Tartars.

On the 22d, we at laſt ſaw the two ſhips; the firſt of which was the Dauphin, of ſixty-four guns, commanded by the Chevalier de St. Hilaire, on board which I embarked, with half my people; and the ſecond was the Laverdi, of fifty guns, which received the other half. After our embarkation we ſailed for the iſle of France.

On the 27th, we paſſed the Engliſh bank, on which we had ſoundings at thirty-ſix fathoms, ſand and broken ſhells.

On

On the 4th of February we croſſed the equator.

On the 6th, in the Straits, we joined a Spaniſh armed frigate, named the Pallas; and on the 16th of March, we arrived ſafely at the iſle of France. My arrival here was ſo much the more agreeable, as I was perfectly tired of the many queſtions the French propoſed to me, reſpecting my diſcoveries during my former voyage. This voyage gave me an ample knowledge of the predominant character of a nation, to which I ſhall probably attach myſelf in future. As ſoon as we came to anchor, and the Governor, the Chevalier de Roche, was informed that I was on board, he ſent a boat belonging to the government, to bring me on ſhore. On my entrance into the town, I was received with military honours, and had the pleaſure to be very amicably received by the Governor, who offered to accommodate me in his own houſe. I accepted this friendly offer with great ſatisfaction; more eſpecially as I hoped, that his experience would be of ſervice to me, in directing my conduct, with regard to the French Court and Miniſtry. After a day's repoſe, the Governor invited me to accompany him in his excurſions upon the iſland; and theſe little journies made me acquainted with ſome of the intereſts of the French government, though I could never agree to call this eſtabliſhment a colony. For the iſle of France can never be made any thing more than a military poſt.

The arrival of Lieutenant Kreguelin, was a great relief to me. For this navigator having returned from a voyage to the Southern lands, gave employment to all the poli-

ticians and idle talkers of the iſland; who before his appearance, had no other object but myſelf. I became acquainted with this officer; but from what I had myſelf ſeen in the North, I could not believe that he had diſcovered ſuch agreeable countries, as he aſſerted to exiſt on his Southern continent.

On the 1ſt of April, the Captain acquainted me, that he intended to depart on the 4th, and I got ready my little accommodations, by the generous aſſiſtance of the Governor, who lent me a ſum of money. On the 4th, having taken my leave, I embarked; and the Governor, with all the officers, paid me a viſit on board. In the evening we ſet ſail.

On the 12th, we anchored at the Iſland of Madagaſcar, where I went on ſhore at Fort Dauphin. Some particulars of information I had received from the Governor of the iſle of France, induced me to wiſh for more ample information, reſpecting this fine and extenſive iſland; but unfortunately for this purpoſe, I could not prolong my ſtay, but went on board again on the 14th.

On the 27th, we doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

On the 28th, we ſpoke two French veſſels, outward bound to India.

On the 24th of May, we ſaw two Engliſh veſſels in the latitude of St. Helaira; and on the 18th of July, we happily arrived at the Iſle de Croix. As ſoon as we had come too, I ſent an officer to the Lieutenant du Roy, at Port Louis, who permitted me and all my people to lodge there.

On

On the 19th, I went on ſhore, and was very politely received by the Commandant; who agreed to ſend a courier to the Miniſter with my packets, which I addreſſed to the Duc D'Aiguillon.

On the 2d of Auguſt, I received an invitation from the Duc D'Aiguillon, which was brought by a meſſenger of ſtate.

On the 8th of Auguſt, I arrived in Champagne, where the Miniſter then was, who received me with cordiality and diſtinction, and propoſed to me to enter into the ſervice of his maſter, with the offer of a regiment of infantry; which I accepted, on condition that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to employ me in forming eſtabliſhments beyond the Cape. In France, likewiſe, I had the happineſs to find my uncle, the Count de Benyow, Commandant of the caſtle and town of Bar, Commander of the Royal Order of St. Lazare, and Chevalier de St. Louis. The aſſiſtance of this worthy relation, and the benevolence of his Majeſty, put me in a condition to ſend an expreſs into Hungary, to enquire after my ſpouſe and child. She arrived at the end of the year; but ſhe had the misfortune to ſee her ſon expire, at the inſtant of the arrival of my courier. An event which was the more affecting, as I was then in a ſituation to provide for him very advantageouſly in France. In the courſe of the month of December, the Duke d'Aiguillon propoſed to me from his Majeſty, to form an eſtabliſhment on the iſland of Madagaſcar, upon the ſame footing as I had propoſed upon the iſland Formoſa; and I at laſt complied with the deſire of

this Miniſter, to whom I ſhall be ever bound in gratitude, as well as perſonal eſteem and attachment.*

* Here ends the ſecond volume, according to the diviſion of the Count, who has in this place annexed his abridged ſignature.

A MEMOIR

A

MEMOIR

CONCERNING THE

EXPEDITION to MADAGASCAR, for the Formation of a Royal Eſtabliſhment on that Iſland; the Execution and chief Command of which, were intruſted by his MAJESTY*, to the COUNT DE BENYOWSKY, proprietary Colonel of a Corps of Volunteers, in 1772.

PRELIMINARIES.

AS the ſucceſs of every remote enterprize which is intended to form an eſtabliſhment of Europeans, dependant always on preciſe orders and inſtructions, as well as preparations and well-founded operations, made in conſequence of a knowledge of the country, and proportioned to the advantages which are propoſed to be obtained, I think it neceſſary to give an account of the circumſtances which preceded my arrival on this iſland. Circumſtances which prove, that notwithſtanding the very ſcanty means which have been afforded me, I have ſucceeded in forming treaties of friendſhip and alliance with the greater part of

* The King of France.

the

the inhabitants of this extenſive iſland; and, conſequently, that if I had not been, as I may ſay, totally abandoned by the Miniſter, which was the ſource of the miſeries, diſeaſes, and mortality, to which myſelf and my people were expoſed; the iſland of Madagaſcar, at this day in alliance with France, would have formed a power, capable of ſupporting her colonies of the iſles of France and Bourbon, and defending her eſtabliſhments in India, as well as ſecuring new branches of commerce to that kingdom, which would have carried immenſe ſums into the royal treaſury.

In order to exhibit in the moſt perſpicuous manner, the different obſtacles which I have experienced ſince my arrival in this iſland, and to develope thoſe events which by ſudden revolutions have procured me favourable advantages in forming this eſtabliſhment, I ſhall give an account of the original diſpoſitions of the Miniſter, upon which it was ordered that I ſhould regulate my operations.

Here follows the account:

'On the 15th of September, 1772, Mr. De Boynes, Secretary of State for the Marine department, communicated to me the intentions of his Majeſty, to make a conſiderable enterprize on the iſland of Madagaſcar, and that his Majeſty had determined to entruſt this expedition to my care. In conſequence of which, he informed me of theſe determinations, that I might take the moſt ſpeedy and proper meaſures to carry this important and honourable enterprize into execution.'

After having thanked this Miniſter for the confidence he honoured me with, I obſerved, that having no knowledge of Madagaſcar, and being abſolutely ignorant of the nature

of the enterprize which his Majeſty was deſirous of entruſting me with, I could not myſelf regulate the meaſures neceſſary for ſuch an expedition; the ſucceſs of which would depend on orders and means, in conformity to which I ſhould regulate my operations with the greateſt exactneſs.

The Miniſter, after having aſſured me that nothing which might be neceſſary to ſecure the ſucceſs of my miſſion ſhould be wanting, added, that the intention of his Majeſty was to form an eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar, in favour of which, at ſome future time, a much more extenſive plan might be carried into execution, by gaining the confidence of the King, Princes, and chiefs of the country, and engaging them to put their iſland under the protection of his Majeſty. Upon this I repreſented, that in order to execute an enterprize of this nature, and of ſuch great importance, in ſo remote a country, the intemperate climate of which, together with the jealouſy of the inhabitants, had ſo often deranged the projects, and rendered former attempts abortive, the operations would require well-combined dimenſions, conſiderable forces, and continued ſupplies, to prevent any thing from being left to chance. The Miniſter approved my repreſentations, and promiſed to provide for every thing; reſerving to himſelf the regulation of the different details, which my miſſion might require, and which he propoſed to concert with me at the end of the month.

Some days after the Miniſter, having ſent for me to his hotel, informed me, that the intentions of his Majeſty were to entruſt me with the command of a military corps of twelve hundred men; and that during the time I ſhould be employed

employed in raiſing them, he would take care to give the moſt preciſe orders, that nothing might be wanting to expedite the conſiderable enterprize to which I was invited. I repreſented to the Miniſter, that the number of one thouſand two hundred men appeared to me to be too conſiderable for an enterprize, where nothing more was intended than to gain the confidence of the natives of the country; and I requeſted, that the troop deſtined to accompany me to Madagaſcar, might not amount to more than three hundred men. To this propoſal the Miniſter agreed.

On the 20th of January, 1773, the recruits being raiſed, I informed the Miniſter, and requeſted his orders, and the communication of his inſtructions, reſpecting the enterprize in which his Majeſty deſigned to employ me. He replied, that he had not yet been able to work upon it; and that he had put it into the hands of the firſt Commis. I waited upon the latter, whom I found buſied in drawing up the plan; but his work not being finiſhed, I could not receive any preciſe information from him.

At the beginning of February, the Miniſter having ſent for me again, declared that the plan drawn out by his Commis, was not to his mind; and that he left me at liberty to draw it out myſelf. He ordered me likewiſe to add the neceſſary demands for the execution of my miſſion, and ſaid, that the intentions of his Majeſty were to form at Madagaſcar a ſimple eſtabliſhment, by favour of which the ſubſiſtence of the iſlands of France and Bourbon might be ſecured, or new branches of trade might be opened, and men ſupported, who might be ſerviceable in India in the next war which might happen. He concluded, by exhorting

ing me to omit nothing in this plan of all the demands neceſſary for its execution. From theſe particulars of information, which I learned from the mouth of the Miniſter, concerning my commiſſion, I continued to confer with Mr. Audat, the firſt Commis, who had no knowledge of Madagaſcar, but from the contradictory relations of merchants, which were more ſuited to confuſe the ſubject, than to give the ſlighteſt information relative to my expedition. He communicated to me ſeveral accounts of Madagaſcar, and a map of the iſland; from which, as well as from the particular account of Mr. Johannis, Captain of a veſſel, who had made ſeveral voyages to Madagaſcar, I founded the plan which follows:

A PLAN WHICH WAS PRESENTED TO THE MINISTER FOR SECURING THE PERFORMANCE OF MY OPERATIONS AT MADAGASCAR.

ARTICLE I.

The Miniſter will pleaſe to give orders for my paſſage, with my corps of volunteers for the iſle of France, with one year's proviſion of meat, drink, and pay.

ARTICLE II.

He will pleaſe to give orders to the chiefs of the Iſle of France to furniſh me with two veſſels of the burden of one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and fifty tons each; which will ſerve to tranſport the troops and neceſſary proviſions for the eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar. One of

theſe veſſels ſhould remain ſubject to my orders, to be employed in the coaſting ſervice of the iſland, and the other to return to France, in order to inform the Miniſter of the poſition and ſucceſs of the enterprize, with other circumſtances neceſſary to be communicated.

ARTICLE III.

The Miniſter will pleaſe to give orders to the chiefs of the iſle of France, to ſupply me with merchandize to the value of two hundred thouſand livres, with a ſupply of artillery and warlike ſtores, together with utenſils for the hoſpitals, and workmen, with their inſtruments and tools for the conſtruction of the neceſſary habitations of his Majeſty's people.

ARTICLE IV.

To avoid the ravages which the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate of Madagaſcar might occaſion, during the time of erecting proper buildings on the ſpot, the Miniſter will pleaſe to order the chiefs of the iſle of France to ſupply me with four buildings framed in wood; one to ſerve as a general ſtorehouſe; the ſecond as an hoſpital; the third as a barrack; and the fourth for my own habitation.

ARTICLE V.

The Miniſter will pleaſe to join to my miſſion, perſons attached to the adminiſtration, to regulate and conduct the affairs of finances and accounts; and who, at the ſame time,

time, may take charge of the commercial buſineſs, while my attention is directed to the forming of the eſtabliſhment.

ARTICLE VI.

The Miniſter will pleaſe to order the chiefs of the iſle of France to aſſiſt me, in caſe of need, with men, proviſions, ammunition, articles of trade, and money for the pay of my troops.

ARTICLE VII.

The Miniſter will pleaſe to ſend out to me the firſt year, one hundred and twenty recruits, to keep up the eſtabliſhment, until I can receive his final inſtructions.

After having preſented to the Miniſter this plan, reduced into ſeven articles, I proteſted to him that I ſhould ſucceed in gaining the confidence of the natives of the country, and in forming the intended eſtabliſhment, if my demands were exactly complied with; but that, as operations of this nature indiſpenſibly required a particular and ſtudied knowledge of the place, I ſhould have the honour to addreſs to him a more extended and better combined plan, with circumſtantial details and topographic charts of the country, and information reſpecting the manners, laws, and governments of the iſlands; and, laſtly, a regular ſtatement of the demands proper to be complied with, to ſecure the execution of ſo vaſt a project.

The Miniſter, after having read my propoſitions, approved them ſo far as to aſſure me, that he would give an account of them to his Majeſty, and that I might depend on the whole being executed to my utmoſt ſatisfaction. The particular conferences which I had, during the courſe of the month of February, with Mr. De Boynes, and the Duke D'Aiguillon confirmed me more and more in the perſuaſion, that nothing would be wanting for my expedition.

On the 19th of March, being ſent for by the Miniſter, I received a letter, which contained the intentions of his Majeſty, concerning the formation of the eſtabliſhment of Madagaſcar, with the copy of another, addreſſed to the chiefs of the iſle of France; and he recommended to me at the ſame time, to repair without delay, with all my men, to port L'Orient, where I ſhould receive his orders for my paſſage to the iſle of France.

I then ſaw that my miſſion was in ſome reſpect abandoned to the diſcretion of the chiefs of that iſland; and that the ſlighteſt want of diſpoſition, or miſunderſtanding on their part, would be capable not only of injuring my operations, but even of entirely fruſtrating them. I made my repreſentations to the Miniſter, at the ſame time requeſting him to change the contents of the letter addreſſed to them; and to cauſe me to be ſupplied from France with the moſt indiſpenſible ſupplies. His anſwer was, that there was no more time to make any change in theſe diſpoſitions; that he was aſſured of the good diſpoſition and zeal of the chiefs of the iſle of France, who certainly would not ſuffer me to be in want of any aſſiſtance; and, laſtly, that being upon the ſpot, I might do every thing which I judged of advantage

to

to the ſervice. He added, that he would beſides provide by new orders for the particular ſupplies, which the ſafety of the eſtabliſhment required.

Notwithſtanding this deciſive anſwer, I ventured to make new repreſentations on the inconvenience which might reſult from ſuch an arrangement; but the Miniſter perſiſted in his firſt anſwer; and added, that the intentions of his Majeſty being, that I ſhould repair as ſpeedily as poſſible to the iſle of France, I could not haſten my departure too much. I therefore left him, with my mind filled with the evils and ſufferings to which myſelf and my troops would be expoſed. It was with a view to prevent theſe that I addreſſed myſelf to the Duke D'Aiguillon; to whom I communicated the orders and diſpoſitions of the Miniſter, reſpecting my miſſion, and the juſt fears which they produced of my want of ſucceſs. But the Duke comforted me with the promiſe that he would confer with Mr. De Boynes, that the face of affairs would certainly change, and that I might make myſelf eaſy.

The following day Mr. Audat, firſt Commis of the marine, came to me, and informed me, that the Miniſter being buſied with important and preſſing affairs, could not confer at that moment with me, concerning my miſſion, but that he had ſent him to aſſure me, that every thing ſhould be done to my utmoſt ſatisfaction; that he had determined to change the letter addreſſed to the chiefs of the iſle of France, and even to augment the demands I had made; that I might depart immediately for that iſland, as I ſhould ſoon be joined by ſuccours diſpatched immediately from France; and that, in the mean time, the chiefs of the iſle of France would ſupply me conformably

conformably to the orders tranſmitted to them with the ſupplies I might want before the arrival of thoſe which I ſhould receive immediately at Madagaſcar, and which would in future place me in a ſituation to do without ſupplies from that iſland; and, laſtly, that with regard to the letter addreſſed to the chiefs of the iſland, the moſt eſſential articles had been changed, in order to let them know that I was left maſter of my operations, and that they were no otherwiſe concerned in my miſſion than in ſupplying me with the indiſpenſible aſſiſtance I might want.

This overture of the firſt Commis, ſatisfied me ſo much the more, as I conceived the pleaſing hope of acquitting myſelf with honour, in the important commiſſion, which it had pleaſed his Majeſty to entruſt me with.

On the 22d of March, I took my audience of leave; and had the ſatisfaction to hear a confirmation of the news from the mouth of the Miniſter; who put the letters and inſtructions which are annexed to the preſent volume, into my hands, and added the following words, "I ſhall provide for all your demands, and you will have reaſon to be contented with me." Being thus diſpatched by the Miniſter, I departed for L'Orient; where I embarked on board the veſſel La Marquiſe de Marbeuf.

On the 22d of September, I landed on the iſle of France, where I found a detachment of my corps, who had arrived before me; the reſt had remained at L'Orient to wait for ſhips. On my arrival in this colony, Mr. De Ternay, the Governor, was abſent, and did not return till the month of October; and as Mr. Maillart had refuſed to confer alone with me on the affairs of my miſ-

ſion,

ſion, before the return of the Governor, I waited till that time; and then demanded four days to regulate affairs with them, concerning my departure to Madagaſcar. In anſwer to this, theſe gentlemen replied, that their objects being ſeparate, they would not confer with me, but each individually. I therefore waited on Mr. De Ternay, on the 22d of the month; of whom, after having communicated my orders, I demanded the furniture and aſſiſtance neceſſary to my operations. But he replied, that no particular order had been addreſſed to him relative to my miſſion; that the general letter of the Miniſter, regarded Mr. Maillart more than himſelf, ſince the furniture and aſſiſtance I ſtood in need of, depended on the treaſury funds, which he did not concern himſelf with; that he would do his duty, in whatever related to the formation of my corps, and would put into my hands his Majeſty's packet the Poſtillion, which had been forwarded by the Court, for the ſervice of my miſſion; and, laſtly, that all the reſt related to the intendant.

After this interview, I waited on Mr. Maillart, to whom I likewiſe communicated the orders of the Miniſter; and gave him a ſtatement of my demands of furniture and aſſiſtance, neceſſary to the execution of my miſſion, of which I gave a detail of the circumſtances; at the ſame time urging ſuch reaſons, as appeared to me the moſt perſuaſive, to induce him to concur in every thing which might depend on him, and might promote the good of the ſervice, on this occaſion. But what was my ſurprize to hear him ſay, that he was very much aſtoniſhed, that the Court had undertaken ſuch an expedition, ſo prejudicial to the iſle of France; all whoſe merchants

would be ruined, if the eſtabliſhment ſhould ſucceed at Madagaſcar; where, by their concurrence, they carried on an advantageous commerce, which could not be legally prohibited by a ſimple letter of the Miniſter; but that, nevertheleſs, he would ſee what could be done, until he received the moſt poſitive orders of the Court: but that he could not avoid informing the Court, that the project was impracticable; becauſe the Madagaſcar people having for one hundred and fifty years paſt, repelled all the attempts of France, they would not ſubmit at this moment, when they were united under a ſolid government, formed by themſelves.

Such an anſwer, from the ſecond in command of the colony, confirmed ſtill more the fears I had conceived at Verſailles, that I was to be abandoned to the mercy of a jealous party; who, as ſeveral reports evinced, did not ſcruple to declare publickly, againſt the eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar, and who had already began to ſtrike the firſt ſtrokes; which, as will hereafter be ſeen, have placed the eſtabliſhment in the moſt unhappy ſituation.

On the 28th of October, Mr. De Maiſonville, whom the Miniſter had nominated to the place of ſub-commiſſary and ſtore-keeper under me, having refuſed to go to Madagaſcar, Mr. Maillart nominated in his place, the Sieur Vahis, a ſhip's clerk, of known bad character; whoſe public impoſitions rendered him unworthy of a poſt, which required an equal ſhare of probity and capacity. I made my repreſentations on this ſubject to Mr. Maillart, aſſuring him, that I never would have any connection with a diſgraced man; and that he muſt immediately make choice of a perſon, more worthy of ſuch a ſituation.

ſituation. He contented himſelf with anſwering, that the Sieur Vahis was good enough for Madagaſcar; where he had no wiſh to expoſe people of any value, as it was ſending them to certain deſtruction. The indignation which ſuch a reply deſerved, led me to take the moſt prudent ſtep. I turned my back upon him.

On the 24th of the ſame month, I conferred again, and more amply, with Mr. De Ternay, reſpecting my miſſion; and gave him an affecting ſketch of the unhappy poſition in which my corps was about to be placed, and the ſufferings to which we ſhould be expoſed, if he perſiſted in refuſing the aſſiſtance I demanded. But I could do nothing with this Governor, who publickly aſſerted, that the eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar could not ſucceed, becauſe the Miniſter had been ſo indiſcreet, as not to conſult the chiefs of the iſle of France, on the means neceſſary to be employed.

Mr. Maillart, on the other hand, continually repeated, that the Miniſter ought to have confided this expedition ſolely to the chiefs of the iſle of France; becauſe, being perſonally intereſted, they would have provided for all the aſſiſtance which might have been required; inſtead of which, the orders of the Miniſter concerning the ſupplies to be made to the eſtabliſhment, being ambiguous, they durſt not proceed upon them.

I perceived, therefore, that no other ſteps remained for me to take, than that of haſtening my departure for Madagaſcar, at the riſque of being expoſed to the laſt miſery, and to be abandoned in the moſt cruel manner, until the arrival of the ſupplies directly from France, which I expected from the Miniſter. This determination, though

violent, was moſt ſuitable to my engagements, and my ſenſe of honour. I therefore overlooked all the inconveniencies, and gave orders for the departure of the packet, the Poſtillion, with a detachment of thirty men; and inſtructions for making enquiries reſpecting the place, manners, and power of the inhabitants; in order that I might be better enabled to expedite my operations, in obedience to the orders his Majeſty had honoured me with.

On the 7th of December, the Sieur Saunier, Lieutenant of a frigate, and Commander of the Poſtillion, ſet ſail, and departed the ſame day with my detachment, on his way to Madagaſcar. From the road he wrote me a letter, in which he informed me, that Mr. Maillart, notwithſtanding the requiſition I had made for the good of the ſervice, and the repeated promiſes he had made to comply with them, had given no orders, but for objects of ſmall conſequence; and thoſe not ſufficient for the ordinary preſents to the chiefs. He added, that he had refuſed him a ſupply of brandy, for the ſubſiſtance of the detachment; and that he ſhould be obliged to deliver that article out of his own ſtores.

Juſtly aſtoniſhed at what I heard, I waited upon Mr. Maillart, for an explanation of theſe circumſtances; but his anſwer was, that the Court had left him maſter of his own operations, in whatever related to Madagaſcar, and that it would be of no uſe for me to apply to him in future, upon that ſubject.

In ſeveral converſations I had with Mr. De Ternay, for the ſeven following days, I begged him to perſuade Mr. Maillart to comply with his duty, in reſpect to my miſſion; and, jointly, to let the merchants who frequented the

the coaſt of Madagaſcar know, that they were to ſuſpend their commerce, till new orders were received from the Miniſter; in order that I might take cognizance of abuſes, and put the trade upon a footing more ſuitable to the advantage of the public, and of the ſettlement in particular. He acquieſced in my demand; but upon hearing that he had merely written, but not publiſhed his order, I redoubled my complaints; and had the mortification to receive for anſwer from Mr. Maillart, that he thought it very extraordinary, I ſhould inſiſt on an object, which was foreign to my department, as it related to a commerce, which being authorized, could not be prohibited, and ſtill leſs aboliſhed, by a ſimple letter of the Miniſter.

On the 22d, the armament of my corps not being yet arrived from France, and having been obliged to exerciſe them with arms which had been borrowed, I requeſted arms of Mr. De Ternay, Lieutenant of the arſenal of the iſle of France; and after ſeveral conteſts, I obtained them, and armed my troops in a proper manner, in conſequence of the care I took to get the greateſt part of the arms repaired.

On the 25th, being informed that a private ſhip was on the point of ſetting ſail for Madagaſcar, and being deſirous of ſeizing this opportunity, of forwarding my orders to Mr. Saunier and D'Eſteruby, I ſent for the Sieur Vahis, who ſtill performed the functions of ſtore-keeper, and enquired of him concerning the ſtate of the fitting out of my expedition. To this he anſwered, that he was accountable only to Mr. Maillart, and not at all to me; and that he was not bound to attend to the ſmalleſt advice I might give him. This unexpected

anſwer from a man, who by the nature of the ſervice was ſubjected to my orders, induced me to complain to Mr. Maillart; who coolly anſwered, that the Sieur Vahis acted according to his inſtructions, and that I muſt expect nothing more.

On the 28th, I again waited on Mr. De Ternay, to engage him to renew his conference with Mr. Maillart, upon the ſupplies required for my expedition. But he anſwered, that the Miniſter having addreſſed his orders directly to Mr. Maillart, it was he alone who was charged with their execution. I therefore waited upon this Intendant, accompanied with my Major, and a Captain of the corps; and made the moſt preſſing repreſentations to him, by obſerving, that my demands were founded on his Majeſty's orders, ſignified by the Miniſter; and that he could not, without failing in his duty, refuſe me ſuch things as my operations indiſpenſably required. But his anſwer was ſuch as I had no reaſon to expect from a man in place. He indulged himſelf in the moſt indecent obſervations on my miſſion; and had the confidence to ſay, that if Mr. De Ternay would follow his advice, he would put a ſtop to my expedition, becauſe the Court had not reflected on this project, formed by a mere adventurer; and that even if the Miniſter ſhould give him the moſt poſitive orders, he would rather throw up his employment, than have any concern in a ſcheme ſo badly projected. This indecent anſwer obliged me to quit him without anſwering a word; and I availed myſelf of the departure of a ſhip for France, to inform the Miniſter of all that had paſſed between the chiefs of the iſle of France and myſelf.

At

At the beginning of the month of December, the reſt of my people having arrived at the iſle of France in the Laverdi, and being deſirous of haſtening my departure for Madagaſcar, I demanded of the chiefs of the iſle of France veſſels for my tranſport; at the ſame time that I delivered to them a liſt of the moſt indiſpenſable things, ſuch as tools, medicines, and particularly twelve caſks of vinegar, and three filtering ſtones. I inſiſted more ſtrongly on theſe laſt articles, becauſe I was fully informed of the bad qualities of the waters of Madagaſcar, which were either muddy, or charged with metallic matter; and that filtering ſtones and vinegar were the only means of rendering them leſs noxious, as had been proved with great ſucceſs, in different European garriſons.

On the 11th of December, Mr. Maillart invited me to a conference, either at his houſe, or at that of Mr. De Ternay. I gave the preference to the former, where Mr. Maillart, in the preſence of Mr. De Ternay, and Mr. De Bellecombe, ancient Commandant at Bourbon, made excuſes for his former behaviour, requeſted my friendſhip, and aſſured me, that the veil that had hitherto covered his eyes with regard to my miſſion, was now removed; and that he now knew, that the Miniſter had particular reaſons for employing me in the eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar; the labour of which he was ready to ſhare with me, as far as it depended on the ſupplies to be furniſhed by him. He begged I would forget all that had paſſed, and grant him my friendſhip. My anſwer had no need to be ſtudied. The Intendant appeared to be ſenſible of the impropriety of his conduct, and proteſted, that he was ready to exert himſelf, in promoting the ſucceſs of my enterprize.

enterprize. I therefore aſſured him, that my eſteem and friendſhip would always go together; and that from that moment, he was in poſſeſſion of both. This proteſtation, on my part, was the more ſincere, as I could form no idea, that a man in poſſeſſion of a confidential employment, could be guilty of ſuch a degree of impoſition and hypocriſy; but the ſequel will ſhew, that the Intendant had no ſuch ſcruples.

On the 17th, Mr. De Ternay ſupplied me with artillery and military ſtores, which I was in want of for my departure; and I ſeriouſly ſet about exerciſing part of my men with the artillery, which they managed to my great ſatisfaction. Mr. Maillart, on his part, took the treaſury cheſt out of the hands of the Sieur Vahis, and entruſted it to the Sieur Senaut, whom I was not acquainted with. Theſe chiefs, ſome days afterwards, let me know, that they deſigned the veſſel Le des Forges for my tranſport, which was every day expected from Bourbon; but Mr. Maillart obſerved, that he could ſend only a very ſmall part of the articles of trade by that veſſel; that the ſtore-houſes were abſolutely without vinegar, and that he did not know what had become of the filtering ſtones: but that he would not fail to forward theſe by the firſt ſhip, even if he were obliged to buy them of the merchants. On the laſt day of the ſame month, I begged Mr. De Ternay to make a review of my corps, with that commiſſary. I cauſed my men to be ſupplied with clothes, as thoſe which had been ſent me had proved exceedingly defective.

January the 1ſt, 1774. Having received a packet from Madagaſcar, by which I learned, that the ſupplies delivered

delivered by the Poſtillion were ſo ſmall, that my detachment had ſcarcely three months eatables, and that my preſence was highly neceſſary, becauſe ſome of the chiefs had already began to commit hoſtilities; I addreſſed myſelf to Meſſ. De Ternay and Maillart, entreating them to furniſh me with a veſſel as early as poſſible, to carry me to my place of deſtination. But as thoſe gentlemen replied, that they could not procure me one in the courſe of the month, all thoſe which were at their diſpoſal being employed in the ſervice of the colony, I determined to freight a veſſel myſelf, to carry ſuccours and a reinforcement of men to my detachment. But I was prevented from doing this, by the promiſe of Mr. De Ternay, who aſſured me, that I ſhould have the veſſel I demanded before the expiration of January. I therefore prepared my corps for their departure; but upon the report, that ſixty-three men were in the hoſpital, I determined to leave them under the orders of Mr. Maring, my Lieutenant Colonel, under the conduct of Captain de Sanglier, until their perfect recovery, when they were to be tranſported to Madagaſcar without delay. I learned, at the ſame time, that part of my troops were ſeduced by the other regiments; that ſome of my volunteers had already deſerted, and that the diſadvantageous obſervations on our expedition had been urged with ſuch malice and ſucceſs, that part of my officers had pretended ſickneſs, with a view to delay their departure for Madagaſcar. I underſtood, likewiſe, that the chiefs of the iſle of France had ſent emiſſaries to Madagaſcar to the King Hyavi, and other chiefs, to warn them that I was come to deprive them of their liberty, and that I had no other intention

intention than to impoſe the yoke of ſlavery upon the whole iſland.

In this unhappy ſituation, being apprehenſive that his Majeſty's ſervice might greatly ſuffer from ſo horrible a prejudice, I harangued my troops, and particularly my officers, who, conquered by the force of reaſoning and their own ſentiments of honour, returned to their duty, and chearfully diſpoſed themſelves to follow me. I then publiſhed my departure for Madagaſcar, and cauſed it to be proclaimed, that all volunteers, particularly workmen, who might be diſpoſed to accompany me, ſhould come and propoſe their conditions. This produced a conſiderable number of applications; but not knowing whether they were free, and being deſirous of avoiding the ſlighteſt offence, I addreſſed myſelf to Meſſ. De Ternay and Maillart. The firſt replied, that he could not give permiſſion to any one to leave the iſland; and Mr. Maillart ſaid, and publickly repeated the aſſertion, that he would openly oppoſe any perſon's departure who might chuſe to follow me to Madagaſcar, becauſe it would be ſending them to the butchery. For he ſaid, he had received information, that ſeveral bodies of armed iſlanders waited for me, in readineſs to attack my forces. This Intendant carried affairs to ſuch an height, as to endeavour to ſeduce one of my chief officers, and to prevail on him to ſend him a full account of my operations at all opportunities. Thus it was that this chief exerted himſelf in carrying the Miniſter's orders into effect.

On the 22d, I profited by the departure of his Majeſty's flute La Triquaire to ſend my packets to the Court. The following days I was buſied in embarking the effects of my

troop; and Mr. Maillart having aſſured me, that he would take care to deliver all the articles he had orders to furniſh for Madagaſcar, I became eaſy. My viſits being made and returned, I gave an entertainment on the 2d of February on the occaſion of the birth of my ſon, at the Great River; after which I commanded my troops to repair to the harbour with colours flying. They immediately went on board, and I had the long-expected pleaſure of ſetting ſail for Madagaſcar at ſix in the evening.

On the 5th, the North winds obliged us to anchor at Bourbon, whence we departed on the 7th, and at laſt we arrived at the bay of Antongil, where we anchored on the 14th of the ſame month.

As the facts which I have related have no other connection with what follows, than by the various unhappy conſequences they have produced, which originated in the want of diſpoſition, or as I may ſay, original jealouſies of the chiefs of the iſle of France, they may be conſidered only as preliminary to the hiſtory of the eſtabliſhment I have formed at Madagaſcar.

A

FULL ACCOUNT OF PARTICULARS

RELATING TO THE

ROYAL ESTABLISHMENT AT MADAGASCAR,

Entruſted to M. the COUNT DE BENYOWSKY: from his Arrival on the Iſland on the 14th of February, 1774.

AS ſoon as the Des Forges had come to anchor, I ſent the ſmall boat on ſhore, to bring the earlieſt news of the ſituation of my detachment, and the diſpoſition of the iſlanders. The ſhore was lined with chiefs, who expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction at ſeeing me; a circumſtance which gave me no ſmall pleaſure. But theſe agreeable ideas were much diminiſhed, upon entering the paliſade which encloſed my men, and which, for want of effects to pay the blacks, they had been obliged to conſtruct themſelves. This hard work, at their firſt landing in an extremely hot country, had exhauſted and reduced them to the moſt deplorable ſtate. The commanding officer and ſurgeon were both ill, without aſſiſtance or medicines, and under the neceſſity of keeping a continual guard day and night againſt the natives, who had made

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an irruption upon my feeble detachment with a number of armed men: and notwithſtanding their weakneſs, they had defended themſelves with ſuch firmneſs, that they took ſeven priſoners from a chief named Raoul; but whom, by a ſtroke of policy, they had thought proper to ſend back without any ranſom. All theſe circumſtances, which I had learned by the accounts of Mr. Saunier and the Sieur de la Boulaye, volunteers in my corps, had almoſt entirely exhauſted the detachment.

My firſt care was to uſe every exertion to give them all the aſſiſtance their unhappy ſituation required. They had no ſtorehouſe, barracks, nor hoſpital, nor even a lodging to receive me under cover from the open air. Theſe different buildings could not be conſtructed in a ſhort time, except by the iſlanders themſelves. I therefore thought it proper to neglect no means of inducing them to enter into the intereſts of the eſtabliſhment; and to gain their confidence, I cauſed the greateſt number of them to meet together, to whom I diſtributed preſents, and had the ſatisfaction to purchaſe ſeveral of the huts of the country, which ſerved to lodge my officers and troops, until the indiſpenſable buildings could be got forward. A hut was erected in haſte, to ſerve for my lodging, and the work went on with ſuch ſpirit, that I was able to diſembark the troops I had brought with me the following day. They came on ſhore with all the pomp and in the beſt order poſſible, with a view to inſpire the iſlanders with reſpect.

While theſe things were performing to the beſt of my wiſhes, I turned my thoughts to the diſcharge of the cargo. For this purpoſe, I demanded of Mr. de Saint

Felix, commander of the Des Forges, the invoice of the effects he had in his charge. But great was my aſtoniſhment to ſee that, notwithſtanding the proteſtations and brilliant promiſes of Mr. Maillart, the veſſel contained little or no liquor, nor articles of trade, and that the greateſt part of the ſhip's cargo conſiſted of coals, an article then of the ſmalleſt importance. In this critical ſituation I was forced to purchaſe the wine, brandy, merchandize, and medicines the Captain offered to ſell me; and upon his refuſing to take a letter of exchange upon the King, as I could by no means diſpenſe with the goods, I gave him a bill on my own account for the ſum of fourteen thouſand five hundred livres.

The day after, February the 17th, having demanded workmen to aſſiſt in the works, Mr. de Saint Felix refuſed them, alledging an order of the chiefs of the iſle of France; but as he did not ſhew me this order after I had ſummoned him ſo to do, I made uſe of the authority his Majeſty had been pleaſed to entruſt me with.

February the 19th, I ſent advice to all the chiefs of the province of Antimaroa to repair on the 1ſt of March to Louiſbourg, that I might inform them of the intentions of his Majeſty reſpecting the eſtabliſhment I was to form at Madagaſcar, and to engage them as much as poſſible in our intereſt. At the ſame time I gave orders to mount the artillery, and to ſecure ourſelves from ſurprize. Upwards of two hundred natives were voluntarily employed in carrying earth to raiſe the ground above the level of the river, and to begin to fill the neighbouring ſwamp.

On the 23d, his Majeſty's frigate L'Oiſeau, commanded by a Lieutenant, and his Majeſty's veſſel Le Rolland, commanded by

by Mr. Kerguelin, having anchored in the road, with two hundred of their people ſick, I gave them every aſſiſtance in my power; and more particularly an abundant ſupply of refreſhments, by means of which their health was ſpeedily reſtored.

On the 25th of the ſame month, his Majeſty's packet Le Dauphin, commanded by Mr. Feron, an attendant on the expedition of Mr. Kerguelin, anchored likewiſe in the road.

March the 1ſt, 1774. Having received information, that all the chiefs of the province of Antimaroa were on their way to Louiſbourg, where I had appointed to hold a conference, I gave new orders, to guard againſt any ſurprize; and the following day I received them without our encloſure, accompanied with ſome of my officers, and a detachment of thirty men. Theſe chiefs were twenty-eight in number, and were eſcorted by about two thouſand armed blacks, who formed a circle, at the entrance of which I ſeated myſelf; and informed them by my interpreter, that the intentions of the King of France being to favour and take under his protection the inhabitants of Madagaſcar, in which he was actuated by a knowledge of their attachment to the French nation, he had reſolved to form an eſtabliſhment, to defend them againſt their enemies; and to keep warehouſes, at which they would at all times find, at cheap rates, ſuch merchandizes as they might want; namely, cloth, liquors, powder, balls, gun flints, &c. which ſhould be furniſhed to them in exchange for the productions of their country, and in particular rice, which they could not cultivate too largely; and that in return for the advantages his Majeſty was diſpoſed to heap

heap on them, I required only the three following conditions :

The firſt was, that they ſhould enter into a treaty of friendſhip and alliance with me, and grant me land to fix my eſtabliſhments ; and that they ſhould permit the iſlanders to ſell lands to ſuch of the French nation as ſhould be diſpoſed to ſettle among them.

The ſecond was, that they ſhould allow me to eſtabliſh in the inland part of the country, near the ſource of the river of Tingballe, hoſpitals and ſtore-houſes upon a proper ſpot of ground.

And laſtly, in the third place, that they ſhould engage to defend the property of the eſtabliſhment.

My interpreter had ſcarcely ended, before they all ſet up ſhouts of joy ; and ſaid, they could not doubt the good intentions of the King, as he had ſent ſhips and troops to them, in preference to the other provinces, to ſupport them againſt their enemies ; that they acknowledged him from thenceforth as their friend, and ſhould conſent to cede to me the land upon which I had began to form my eſtabliſhment, provided I entered into an oath not to conſtruct fortreſſes. With reſpect to the land I required up the country, they ſaid they would conſider of it ; but that they required an oath, by which I ſhould acknowledge that I had no right over them, and would confine myſelf to the ſimple title of their friend, in which quality I ſhould aſſiſt them againſt their enemies.

Having acceded to the propoſitions, we celebrated the oath to ratify our union. This ceremony, which they call Cabarre, was ſeconded by an entertainment, in which they drank a caſk of brandy I diſtributed among them.

My friends then returned to their own villages, where they celebrated new feſtivals, in teſtimony of their joy at having gained the friendſhip of the King of France.

On the 3d, I diſpatched the Poſtillion, commanded by the Sieur Saunier, and attached to my expedition, with orders to repair to Foul Point, and diſlodge the individuals who were endeavouring to prejudice the natives againſt my eſtabliſhment; and to aſſure Hyavi, the King and Grand Chief of the province, of my friendſhip, as well as to make preſents to him, and to engage him to demand my aſſiſtance againſt the Fariavas, with whom he was at war. This appeared to me the moſt certain method of obtaining permiſſion to eſtabliſh a poſt at Foul Point.

On the 9th, his Majeſty's packet Le Dauphin, ſailed for the iſle of France, after receiving from me a ſupply of brandy and rice, of which ſhe was in the greateſt want.

On the information of my people, that the blacks in ſpite of their oaths, inſulted the ſentinels in the night, and the Sieur Senan, ſtore-keeper, having at the ſame time made complaint, that the magazines had been robbed, I gave notice to the chiefs, that if any natives ſhould approach the poſts in the night, without anſwering the ſentinel, as had been agreed, I ſhould be forced to fire upon them. They only replied to my interpreters, that if I killed one black, they would in return kill ten whites. The ſame evening a black armed with his ſagaye, having with others come near a ſentinel, placed before a magazine, and inſtead of anſwering having thrown a ſagaye at him, the ſentinels fired upon them, ſlew one, and wounded two others. This action, though juſt, appeared to the natives a juſt cauſe of complaint and retaliation; which I took care

care to prevent, by removing them to the diſtance of our out-poſts. To ſucceed in this without expoſing my people I propoſed to four chiefs, to ſell me their villages, which ſurrounded Louiſbourg. They conſented, and evacuated them as ſoon as they were paid; and I gave immediate orders for demoliſhing them. In this manner I became maſter of the whole point of land, and my people were leſs expoſed to opportunities of debauchery.

On the 11th inſtant, I ſent on board his Majeſty's ſhips Le Rolland and L'Oiſeau thirty oxen. The blacks, though they had retired, and were ſatisfied by the payment for their villages, did not abandon their deſign of ruining the eſtabliſhment. I was informed by a free negreſs, that they had agreed to poiſon us all, beginning with myſelf, by means of the proviſions they might ſell us. In conſequence of this, I forbad the purchaſing any thing from the natives, until they had themſelves firſt eaten of it. This proof coſt one of them his life; for by taſting ſome fruit he offered to ſale, he ſuddenly fell down lifeleſs. His accomplices being informed of this tragical event, which diſcloſed their plot, fled up the river, where they laboured to ſtop the paſſage by felling trees acroſs it. They likewiſe fired upon a detachment I ſent to reconnoitre them.

The following day, a chief named Siloulout, under pretence of coming to render homage, requeſted an interview near a wood. This extraordinary demand, together with his refuſal to come to the Government, leading me to ſuſpect ſome treachery, I ſent out to watch his movements, and ſoon learned, that in conſequence of an

oath he had entered into with the Saphirobay, to aſſaſſinate me, he waited for my coming with about three hundred armed blacks; and that a much more conſiderable number were concealed in the wood. To fruſtrate this baſe attempt, I ſent out two field pieces, preceded by fifty volunteers, commanded by two officers, who marched up to the enemy with ſuch ſpirit, that this great multitude of blacks were ſtruck with fear. Some retreated into the marſhes, and the reſt went on board their boats, whence they made the moſt violent diſcharge of their pieces, but without effect. This obliged me to point my field pieces at them. The firſt ball overſet one of their largeſt boats, and killed ſeveral men. Two days after this event, I was informed by a female negro ſpy, that the chiefs Saphirobay and Siloulout, had formed with Raoul the project of a league with the neighbouring provinces, to deſtroy the eſtabliſhment effectually. In order to avoid the effects of ſo dangerous a conſpiracy, I gave orders to my Major to march at eleven at night, with a detachment of ſixty volunteers, and proceed in the boats of Le Rolland and L'Oiſeau, direct to the enemies camp, which was about three leagues diſtant. The troops landed at three in the morning, and immediately attacked them, and drove them into the wood; after which they reduced their village to aſhes, and deſtroyed their works. This ſtroke reſtored the tranquillity of the eſtabliſhment; and I went myſelf with my Major and Engineer, to examine an elevated iſland named D'Aiguillon, which is only one league diſtant from Louiſbourg. Here I gave orders for conſtructing an oven, an hoſpital, and a redout

for defending a botanical garden at the foot of the mountain of Diſcovery.

On the 21ſt, his Majeſty's two veſſels, Le Rolland and Le Des Forges, ſet ſail; the firſt for France, and the latter for the Iſle of France. Mr. Kerguelin left behind him twelve men attacked with the ſcurvy.

On the 24th, ſix neighbouring provinces, who were overjoyed at the cataſtrophe of the chiefs Raoul, Siloulout, and their other mortal enemies, deputed envoys to me, to propoſe an oath of friendſhip, and to make preſents; in return for which, as well as to attach them to our intereſts, I cauſed brandy to be diſtributed among them in proportion to their number, which was conſiderable.

On the 26th, Saphirobay ſent preſents, and requeſted peace. I informed them, that after the attempts they had made againſt the eſtabliſhment, it was pardon and not peace which they ought to require; and that I would not pardon them, ſo long as they acknowledged as their chief Raoul, whoſe infamous behaviour had been manifeſted in attempts againſt the ſettlement; and laſtly, that they ſhould begin by clearing the river, and leaving us the free liberty of navigating it. They retired with promiſes to comply with my demands; but the following day we had evident proof to the contrary, for the river was covered with trees loaded with fruit. I gave orders to examine what it was, and immediately found, that the Saphirobay had covered the river with tanguin, which is the ſtrongeſt poiſon they are acquainted with, and with which they intended to poiſon the river, which was the only water we uſed. I was therefore obliged for the pre-

ſervation of my troops, to cauſe the river to be cleared, and to ſend a party of natives, engaged and commanded by a party of volunteers, to encamp and cut down and burn all the trees of this kind, which were in the neighbourhood of the river. This precaution, though expenſive, was of the laſt neceſſity, to deliver us from certain deſtruction.

On the 30th, I repaired to Manambia, where I diſcovered an ore of copper on a mountain. I gave advice of this diſcovery to the Miniſter, having firſt prohibited any one from touching it.

April the 1ſt, 1774. Several chiefs of Angontzi came to offer their friendſhip, with a promiſe of conforming to all the articles which had been propoſed in the former Cabars; and at the ſame time requeſting as a favour, that a trade might be eſtabliſhed in their country. This induced me to ſend a Commis with four volunteers, and a quantity of merchandize.

In the night, between the 1ſt and 2d, having viſited the poſts myſelf, I perceived that ſeven volunteers, with their arms and baggage, were miſſing. Theſe circumſtances led me to ſuſpect that they had deſerted, and the accounts I received the following day convinced me of the truth of my ſuſpicions. In this juncture I could make no uſe of my troops, on account of their imperfect knowledge of the place. I therefore ſent a number of Blacks after the deſerters, commanded by the officers of my own corps. This precaution was the more neceſſary, as I had already received information, that more than fifty other volunteers, with two officers among their number, had agreed to follow the ſeven deſerters. To prevent this ſecond

evil, I put the whole troop under arms, and after having reviewed them, and cauſed them to ground their arms, I commanded them to the right about, and marched them off without their arms, which were all carried into my apartment. I immediately cauſed the criminals to be ſeized and bound; and the ſeven deſerters having been brought back that evening, were queſtioned at a council of war, in which one of the conſpirators was condemned to run the gauntlet, and thirty-three volunteers were condemned to the works. Their deſign appeared to be that of forming a league with the iſlanders for the deſtruction of the eſtabliſhment, and favour their ſubſequent eſcape in ſome private veſſel.

On the 6th, his Majeſty's packet the Poſtillion, which I had forwarded on the 3d of March for Foul Point, returned, and gave me an account, that the chief Hiavi, notwithſtanding all that had been ſaid by private merchants againſt the eſtabliſhment, was earneſtly deſirous of my friendſhip, and begged me to eſtabliſh a poſt near him. He aſſured me, that he was ready to conſtruct a paliſade according to my demands, and that he would contribute every thing in his power, or in the power of the chiefs, under his orders, to the good of the eſtabliſhment. The chiefs of St. Mary came the following day to requeſt and ſtipulate a treaty of peace and friendſhip, and to enter into mutual oaths. They, at the ſame time, begged me to eſtabliſh a poſt on their iſland, and begged I would forget the maſſacre they had formerly committed againſt the French; to which, they ſaid, they were driven by the cruelty and tyranny of the French themſelves. I was convinced of the truth of their account, and therefore promiſed to forget all that had

paſſed. We therefore entered into mutual oaths, and I engaged to ſend a perſon to open a trade of brandy and effects, for whoſe ſafety the chiefs ſhould anſwer upon their own lives.

On the 9th, the interrogatories, confrontations, and circumſtances, relative to the plot which had given employment to a council of war on the 5th of the ſame month, afforded occaſion for a ſecond council, in which the principal mover was condemned to run the gauntlet, another was flogged, and thoſe who were leſs criminal were condemned to puniſhments adequate to their deſerts.

On the 10th, his Majeſty's packet the Poſtillion being in want of careening, and having no proviſion of pitch and tar, they were ſupplied by a gum of the country, named by the iſlanders ditti moenti, which appeared to be of excellent uſe in thoſe kinds of work.

On the 17th, I diſpatched his Majeſty's veſſel the Grand Bourbon with a detachment of a Captain, one Lieutenant, two Serjeants, a Drum, and eighteen Soldiers, to Foul Point, with preſents for Hiavi, the chief of that province, who had deputed his brother to me to enter into an oath of friendſhip in his name.

On the 20th, the Saphirobay, who, in order to regain my favour, had driven Siloulout out of their territories and degraded their chief Raoul, came to the number of twenty-two great chiefs and more than two thouſand unarmed iſlanders; and after ſeveral teſtimonials of the moſt lively repentance, and a renewal of their oaths, I preſented them with brandy and preſents, which they received with marks of the greateſt ſatisfaction and reiterated promiſes, that they would immediately bring their commodities,

modities, the price of which had been regulated in the Cabars. The following day the chief Raoul came to demand pardon, and permiſſion to eſtabliſh himſelf in his country; which I granted, on condition that he ſhould not aſſume the title of prince.

On the 23d, judging it to be of the greateſt importance to make myſelf acquainted with the internal part of the country, where, from the account of the iſlanders, there were very fine plains and rivers favourable to communication; I ſent the Sieur Saunier, Lieutenant of a frigate, up the river of Tingballe, to make enquiries. He returned from his expedition on the 26th, and informed me, that the river was navigable ten leagues from its mouth, and ran to the North Weſt into the country; that before it arrives at its ſource it is divided into two branches, each navigable for about ten leagues. He added, that this river was bordered with very fine plains in good cultivation, and mountains covered with the moſt beautiful timber, which might be eaſily and at a little expence brought down to the ſettlement by water. I was greatly pleaſed with this diſcovery, as I already knew that the rivers opened three very advantageous places of trade, one to the Weſt of the iſland of Bombatok, the other to the North of Cape D'Ambre, and the third to the Eaſt of Angontzi, of which all the rivers of communication diſcharge themſelves into that of Tingballe. I therefore propoſed to extend the eſtabliſhment and cultivation into theſe different provinces, as ſoon as I ſhould have received more important aſſiſtance than thoſe which I had hitherto obtained from the iſle of France.

On

On the 27th, the Grand Bourbon was obliged to return into the harbour, and take proviſions for the detachment at Foul Point.

The chiefs of the Southern provinces came with preſents to enter into the oath of friendſhip, and begged me to ſend one of my officers to dwell among them, and eſtabliſh a trade. I ſent an interpreter, with orders to make himſelf acquainted with theſe ſeveral provinces, ſome of which are more than one hundred leagues diſtant from the chief place; and in the mean time I ſuſpended my further orders.

On the 28th, in the evening, being informed of the death of Mr. Senan, ſtorekeeper of the eſtabliſhment, I gave inſtructions to my Major to affix ſeals on his cheſt and all the magazines, and place ſentinels upon them. My juſt fears of his bad conduct were confirmed the following evening, when we came to take an inventory of the general ſtores, and every part of the adminiſtration which had been intruſted to him. The whole was in ſuch bad order, that all his regiſters, as well of entries as deliveries, were entirely blank.

On the 29th, to haſten the advantageous communication, which I propoſed to eſtabliſh by land as far as the Weſtern coaſt; a communication abſolutely neceſſary to open a trade with the coaſt of Africa, and particularly with the province of Bombatok, which is extremely abundant in cattle and cotton; I ſent Mr. Mayeur, an interpreter, with a Serjeant and one hundred and fifty Blacks, which were furniſhed by the allied chiefs, with inſtructions to make different eſtabliſhments in his march; the firſt at the ſource of the river Tingballe, at the entry of a wood,

wood, and the other at the coming out; to conſtruct a fort oppoſite Angonave, the firſt village of the Seclaves, dependant on Bombatok; to diſcover and clear the ſhorteſt road towards the Weſtern coaſt; to enter into treaties of friendſhip with the chiefs of the interior part of the country; to convince them of the real advantages they might obtain from their commerce with the Whites; to diſcover the moſt favourable branches of trade; to obſerve their forces, their inclinations, manners, and the climate of the country; to eſtabliſh poſts of reſt for ſuch eſcorts as might hereafter tranſport merchandize, and where they may depoſit their effects; and laſtly, to forget nothing which might contribute to the good of the eſtabliſhment, and to give me advice of every thing they ſhould do in the execution of their commiſſion. But more eſpecially, to exert themſelves to clear the roads which were moſt eaſy to be paſſed through woods and over mountains. The Sieur Mayeur having received theſe inſtructions and the neceſſary proviſions, began his march with all his people.

On the 30th, his Majeſty's Corvette le Neceſſaire, commanded by the Sieur Cordé, arrived with the Chevalier de Sanglier, Captain in my troop, with twenty volunteers, ſome clerks or writers, and certain individuals, who propoſed to eſtabliſh themſelves on the iſland.

The poſition in which we then found ourſelves, was ſo much the more deplorable, as ſeveral of my officers were either abſent with detachments, or ſick; the magazines were ill provided, and ſtill worſe adminiſtered; the hoſpitals furniſhed with very few medicines, and we had no ſurgeon able to aſſiſt the volunteers, who were enervated by the indiſpenſable works and the heat of the climate. I had

had been obliged to employ them in the fortifications and in filling up the marſhes. The military ſervice of the night, which our proper ſafety required, ſucceeded to the fatigues of the day. Every moment I waited with impatience for the performance of Mr. Maillart's promiſes, but we were forgotten, or rather forſaken.

The firſt days of the month of May were ſo critical, and my troops were ſo worn out with diſeaſe, that for want of a ſurgeon I was myſelf obliged to give them that aſſiſtance which my own feelings and attachment to the ſervice could not but impel me to adminiſter. But I was ſoon reduced myſelf to the ſame unhappy ſituation; I withſtood the attacks of the fever for a whole week, and the intolerable head-ach with which it was attended. But at laſt, being unable any longer to reſiſt, I gave orders for carrying me to the iſland D'Aiguillon for air, and to reſt myſelf a little after my fatigue. His Majeſty's veſſel the Grand Bourbon ſet ſail on the 1ſt, to carry my troops to their deſtination. For this purpoſe I intruſted the command of my corps to Mr. Marin, Lieutenant Colonel, and that of the place to Mr. Marigni, my Major, and departed with my family. The change of air gave me ſome relief, and put me in a ſituation to look after my family, which was likewiſe attacked by the fever. For want of a ſurgeon I myſelf bled my ſpouſe with a trembling hand, and fortunately the effect was anſwerable to my wiſhes, and reſtored her to health.

On the 14th, the Grand Bourbon returned a ſecond time, on pretence of wanting water, though Mr. Marigni, gave me an account of a viſit that he made on board the veſſel, which ſhewed that ſhe was provided with water for

more than two months. I was then convinced, by the manœuvres of the officer who commanded the veſſel, that he had particular reaſons for his conduct, founded on inſtructions from the iſle of France: but my health not permitting me to take the neceſſary informations reſpecting it, I determined to diſſemble; and having learned, at the ſame time, that the Lieutenant Colonel and Major of my corps were continually diſagreeing, I embarked with my family, and returned to the main land, where my firſt care was to inform the chiefs not to come armed; and I gave orders to my Major to watch more than ever againſt a ſurprize.

On the 18th, his Majeſty's veſſel the Grand Bourbon ſet ſail for the third time.

My convaleſcence having required ſome care on my part, I deferred my operations till the firſt of June. I found great aſſiſtance in the care of Mr. Deſmaſures, Maſter of the Bouquinville, who, in the height of my illneſs, entered the port. Our ſituation affected him ſo much, that he offered his ſervices to Mr. De Marigni, who accepted them with the greateſt pleaſure; but I learned, with the utmoſt grief, that notwithſtanding the attention of the Surgeon Major, there died, during my illneſs, Mr. Marin, Lieutenant Colonel of my corps, and fifteen volunteers. This conſiderable loſs, and the well-founded apprehenſions of its encreaſing, obliged me to aſſemble my officers, to whom I propoſed to ſend into the country, to enquire after a more healthy ſpot, to which we would immediately tranſport ourſelves. This propoſition was unanimouſly approved; and in conſequence of their deciſion, Mr. De Marigni departed the next morning, with a detachment, on the river of Tingballe, in ſearch of an elevated ſpot.

This

This day the chiefs of the neighbouring provinces came to teſtify their joy at the eſtabliſhment of my health, and celebrated a public rejoicing, in which muſket ſhot were not ſpared.

On the 8th, Mr. Marigni returned from his excurſion, and informed me, that he had obſerved ſeveral fine plains up the river, at three or four leagues diſtance from the eſtabliſhment; but that this diſtance having appeared to him too near the marſhes on the ſea-ſide, he continued to aſcend the river as far as nine leagues, or thereabouts, from its mouth, where he ſtopped at a place named by the iſlanders the Plain of Health; which appeared to him the moſt proper to tranſport the eſtabliſhment, becauſe it was extenſive and well ſheltered, and was commanded by a mountain of the moſt advantageous kind for conſtructing a fort, which might fire over the river and a great extent of ground. This diſcovery was very agreeable to me, and I immediately ſent a ſmall detachment, commanded by an officer, to encamp and make trial of the air; and upon the good report they made, I ſent the Sieur Corbi with a ſufficient number of workmen to conſtruct, as ſpeedily as poſſible, habitations for us, and an hoſpital for the convaleſcents.

On the 9th, the third appearance of the Grand Bourbon, with my detachment, having fully convinced me of the motives which actuated the Captain of that veſſel, who, during three months, had not thought proper to leave the road, I diſembarked the troops which were on board that veſſel, and gave orders to Mr. Saunier, commander of the Poſtillion, to hold himſelf in readineſs to ſail for Foul Point.

On the 12th, upon the report of Mr. Pruneau, employed in the adminiſtration and performing the office of ſtore-keeper, that ſeveral different thefts had been committed in the King's ſtore-houſes, I cauſed the moſt accurate enquiries to be made; but as they were fruitleſs, and I had violent ſuſpicion of the clerks themſelves, I charged one of my Majors to ſuperintend their conduct.

On the 22d, having received news from the Sieur Meyeur, that he had ſucceeded in opening a way to the Weſtward as far as the province Antanguin, and that the chiefs of that province would not permit him to proceed. I immediately ſent the Sieur Corbi with a detachment of ſixteen volunteers, commanded by a Serjeant, and twenty-four free Blacks likewiſe armed, to aſſiſt and ſecond him in his operations.

On the 23d, the village of Sianie having taken fire, which was not above a muſket ſhot diſtant from our eſtabliſhment, and whoſe effects we could not avoid but by pulling down twenty of our houſes, I judged it of the greateſt importance to cauſe that chief to fix his dwelling on the other ſide of the river, and I obtained his conſent, by purchaſing thoſe huts which the fire had ſpared.

On the 28th, his Majeſty's veſſels the Grand Bourbon and the Poſtillion, being on the point of ſetting ſail, the firſt for the iſle of France, and the ſecond for Foul Point; and having demanded proviſions for their people, I cauſed all the remaining ſalt proviſions and brandy which were in the magazines, and had been ſupplied from the iſle of France, to be delivered to them; and upon the repreſentations of Mr. De Marigni, that it was indiſpenſibly neceſſary to ſend back ſome volunteers, I gave orders to that effect;

effect; and at the ſame time I thought it proper to ſend back one of my officers, with letters addreſſed jointly to Meſſrs. De Ternay and Maillart, containing a ſtatement of demands of things, which the eſtabliſhment could not diſpenſe with; and among others, filtering ſtones, medicines, ſurgeons, and ſome blacks, accuſtomed to the ſervice of the hoſpitals, together with perſons capable of overlooking the preſervation of his Majeſty's ſtore-houſes, and alſo flour and liquors. At the ſame time I demanded of thoſe gentlemen, articles of trade; and aſſured them, that if I received thoſe articles, I ſhould ſoon be in a ſituation to procure them nine hundred thouſand pounds of white rice, and three thouſand oxen; and that it was of the greateſt importance to the ſervice, that they ſhould ſend me two galliots for the exportation and importation of rice and merchandize from the chief to the out-ſettlements, as well as to carry my detachments, which had hitherto been obliged to repair to the place of their deſtination by land, acroſs marſhes, which had greatly contributed to their deſtruction. To theſe demands, I added that of a reimburſement of the ſum of ninety-ſix thouſand one hundred and ſixty-ſix livres, which I had myſelf advanced to the treaſury of Madagaſcar, upon the requiſition of the officers of the adminiſtration; which ſum had been employed in purchaſing various kinds of merchandize, with eatables, drink, and medicines, of which the general magazine was entirely deſtitute: and, laſtly, I obſerved to Mr. De Ternay, that the deplorable ſituation of my troops ſcarcely permitted them to perform the ordinary ſervices; for which reaſon I requeſted him to order me a ſupply of men, and to permit the officer, whom I ſent

I ſent directly for that purpoſe to the iſle of France, to raiſe ſoldiers, workmen, and engage with ſuch inhabitants as might be willing to come with them.

July, 1774. The Grand Bourbon ſet ſail, and I ſaw her depart with the hope, that my preſſing repreſentations would impel the gentlemen in the adminiſtration of the iſle of France, to take thoſe meaſures which were indiſpenſibly neceſſary, in ſo urgent and grievous a ſituation as ours; and that I ſhould in a ſhort time ſee the ſupplies arrive, which had been ſo often promiſed. But a determination had been made to abandon the eſtabliſhment, as will be ſhortly ſeen.

The ſame day I ſent his Majeſty's brig the Poſtillion to Foul Point; and gave preciſe orders to the Sieur Scunier, commander of this veſſel, to bring all the private veſſels he might find in the harbours of St. Mary and Foul Point, and to make the moſt accurate enquiries into the conduct of individuals.

Our ſtate of extreme weakneſs inſpired ſeveral chiefs, who were debauched by the Saclaves, with the deſign to break their oath of friendſhip and attachment. But I was happily adviſed of this by the other chiefs, who were greatly attached to my perſon; and notwithſtanding the weak ſtate of my people, they behaved with ſo much firmneſs, as to break the meaſures of theſe treacherous chiefs, whom during the night they forced in a camp they had eſtabliſhed in a wood, and completely routed them.

Mr. De Marigni, my Major, whoſe former ſervices had merited the Croſs of St. Louis, and who had always ſeconded me in my operations, was at this time attacked with

with the diſorder of the country. His illneſs became every day worſe; and I had the more reaſon to be apprehenſive for the ſafety of this brave officer, as he had exhauſted himſelf by continual exertions. My ſon likewiſe was attacked. While I was thus oppreſſed with the mortifying reflections, into which their unhappy ſituation threw me, I received information, that two workmen, the one a carpenter, and the other an armourer, had deſerted; and that they had been ſeen in the boat of the Grand Bourbon, before ſhe ſet ſail. I immediately ſent to ſearch that veſſel, but they were ſo well concealed, that it was impoſſible to find them. Juſtly irritated by the vile proceeding of the Captain of this veſſel, who though in his Majeſty's ſervice, had dared to deprive this infant eſtabliſhment of ſuch neceſſary workmen, (as I was by his means without an armourer, and incapable of carrying on the works) I immediately gave advice to the chiefs of the iſle of France, and determined to inform the Miniſter of this proceeding by the earlieſt opportunity.

My health, which had been unſettled for a long time, now began for ſome days to experience the moſt dreadful attacks. My only ſon Charles Maurice Louis Auguſtus, Baron de Benyowſky, died of the country diſorder on the 11th of this month, at ſeven in the morning, to my extreme regret; and on the 12th, Mr. De Marigni, my Major, for whoſe life I had been ſo greatly apprehenſive, died at ten in the morning. He was equally lamented by myſelf, and all the officers of my corps. My fever became every day more violent, and forced me at laſt, to repair to the Plain of Health. The paliſade of Louiſbourg being conſtructed of ſlight wood, and being too extenſive to be guarded

guarded by the few remaining hands, I had built a fort, which I named Fort Louis. It was conſtructed of the beſt wood of the country, with a triple paliſade, ſtrengthened without by a ſloping of turf, and having a very ſolid banquette, which favoured the fire of our murdering pieces. It was beſides fortified by advanced works. I left the command of this fort to Mr. De Vienne, Firſt Lieutenant, with fifty-ſix men, and ſubaltern officers, and directed my courſe towards the Plain of Health, with thirty convaleſcents; where I arrived on the 20th of the month, and eſtabliſhed a market for the purchaſe of rice, cattle, and wood; all which took place according to my deſire. In a few days I began to recover, as did likewiſe ſeveral of the volunteers, though lodged in huts, made after the manner of the country, and not ſufficiently cloſe to keep out the rain.

On the 23d, I heard by report, that the brigantine Le Bouquinville had ſet ſail. I had purchaſed of this veſſel, for the urgent neceſſities of the colony, effects amounting to upwards of forty thouſand livres, for which I gave my bill to the Captain on the Treaſury of the iſle of France. During the reſt of the month I was employed in cauſing habitations to be conſtructed and the ground to be cleared.

Auguſt the 5th, 1784, the Seclaves ſent deputies to requeſt the eſtabliſhment of a trade among them; but they refuſed permiſſion to build fortreſſes. This requeſt of theirs being contrary to my views, I refuſed to comply with it.

On the 13th, his Majeſty's brig the Poſtillion returned into the harbour, and the Sieur Saunier, the commander, gave me an account, that on paſſing near St. Mary, he had found the Sieur Savournin trading contrary to the re-

peated prohibitions which had been communicated to him; and having at laſt thought proper to ſpeak in degrading terms of the ſettlement and its origin, he had ſeized him in the King's name, and brought him to the bay; that he had likewiſe found the Sieur Oliver making preparations to trade at Foul Point; but that this laſt had followed him to give an account of his operations, and to juſtify himſelf by pleading his ignorance of the prohibition.

The common letter of the chiefs of the iſle of France informed me, that having been made acquainted with the preſſing wants of the eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar, they had freighted the private veſſel La Flore, to convey ſtores to us. The general good, therefore, required, that this veſſel ſhould repair immediately to the chief ſettlement to unload, and receive in exchange, as the chiefs of the iſle of France likewiſe noticed, a quantity of rice of equal value to the effects ſhe might bring. I was informed on the contrary, from Meſſrs. Savournin and Fayuſe, Captains, that they had not two tons on board for his Majeſty's ſtores in that iſland; that the veſſel was not freighted on account of his Majeſty; and that on the contrary, a written bargain had been concluded with Mr. Maillart, that they ſhould go to Fort Dauphin, and remain there to take in ſupplies for the iſle of France; and in conſequence, that he could not take in rice, notwithſtanding my ſummons for him to take in his loading.

Juſtly ſurprized at the proceedings of the adminiſtrators of the iſle of France, who by this conduct gave me reaſon to believe, that they were laying a ſnare for me, I forbad the Sieur Savournin, in his Majeſty's name, to trade to the Southward, upon which he propoſed to pay annually

to the King, the ſum of one hundred thouſand livres, for the excluſive right of trading from the point of the bay to Foul Point. This propoſition having appeared to me to be advantageous, and for the good of the ſervice, I executed an act agreeably to theſe conditions.

On the 15th, the natives of Navan, headed by the robber Siloulout, came in the night to the number of about two hundred men, with the intention of robbing the rice grounds; but having been ſurprized by the ſentinel they fled. The following day I ſent an interpreter to them, to adviſe them to live in peace with us; and not to repeat any ſuch attempts, if they wiſhed to avoid expoſing themſelves to my juſt vengeance. They anſwered my interpreter with their muſkets, and three of the workmen who accompanied him were ſlain, and ſix wounded. Upon receiving this account, I ſent a detachment of thirty-ſix volunteers, commanded by proper officers, with orders to attack them in the night, and put all the blacks of Navan to the ſword. But the chiefs attached to my party, not thinking it proper that I ſhould employ whites, took charge of the expedition, which they ſet about with ſeven hundred men, well armed. To ſupport them, I ordered Captain De Sanglier to follow them with a detachment. During theſe tranſactions, the Sieur Oliver, who had fully juſtified himſelf, and whom I had forbidden to trade in any of the offices of the eſtabliſhment, perceiving that his voyage would be very chargeable, if he was forced to carry his cargo back to the iſle of France, and being likewiſe acquainted with our preſſing neceſſities, occaſioned by the want of ſupplies, propoſed to ſell his veſſel to the King, with thirty-four blacks, and ſome effects, which I

gave orders for the purchaſe of, upon the valuations which were made by the ſtore-keepers, and others employed in this ſervice, namely :

The veſſel	- -	30,000 livres.
The ſlaves	- -	10,200
The effects	- -	1,600
		41,800

On the 21ſt, the Sieur Savournin, and the Surgeon-Major, having informed me, that there were ſeveral men on board the veſſel attacked with a contagious diſorder, I gave orders for them to be conveyed to the iſle D'Aiguillon, to perform quarantine. This illneſs proved to be the ſmall-pox.

On the 23d, the Chevalier Sanglier, Captain commanding the detachment I had ſent againſt the blacks of Navan, returned to Louiſbourg, and informed me, that the boat which carried his troops having been overſet, had retarded his operations ; but that notwithſtanding this accident, the troops of the allied chiefs had ſucceeded in forcing their principal village, according to my orders, though it was well defended by forts, paliſades, and deep ditches ; and that the neſt of theſe robbers had become the prey of the flames.

The following day, ſeveral chiefs of various provinces, declared in their Cabar, that they would on this account, conſider the Navans as traitors and perjured men ; in conſequence of which, they declared them ſlaves. The latter,

on hearing this news, took refuge in the Northern parts of the iſland.

On the 2d of September, perceiving that my ſituation became daily more critical, and being continually harraſſed by the intrigues of the chiefs of the iſle of France, who ſent emiſſaries to Madagaſcar to prejudice the natives againſt me; and having every reaſon to fear, that our weak ſituation might encourage them in the deſign they had long taken up of exterminating us, I thought it of the greateſt conſequence to obtain from our allies a ſupply of men to defend us in caſe of need. I therefore ſtipulated them, that they ſhould conſtantly keep up a force of one thouſand two hundred armed men.

This nation have a cuſtom equally cruel and ſtrange, which they have obſerved from time immemorial. Any child who is born with natural defects, or even on certain days, which they conſider as unlucky, is ſacrificed at its birth. Moſt commonly they drown them; and I had an opportunity of being a witneſs to this cruel cuſtom, in deſcending the river in my way to the plain at Louiſbourg. It happened fortunately, that on the day of my departure I had an opportunity of ſaving the lives of three of theſe unfortunate children, which they were carrying with the intention of drowning. I cauſed them to be conveyed to Fort Louis; and having given directions for ſummoning a grand Cabar, I cauſed all the chiefs to enter into an oath, that they would not in future practiſe any ſuch act of cruelty. I conſidered this as the happieſt day of my life, from the abolition of this execrable cuſtom, which was the effect either of religion, or ſome more deteſtable prejudice.

On the 4th, I was adviſed by one of the chiefs of Antambon, that the chiefs Mahertom, Raboet, Campan, and Saphirobay, had entered into a combination to aſſinate me. I immediately ſent an interpreter to theſe chiefs, to enquire into their intentions. Mahertom denied that he had entered into the conſpiracy, but Raboet, having avowed that he was the eighth perſon who took the oath, the blacks could with difficulty reſtrain themſelves from ruſhing on him, and putting him to death.

On the 5th, Fort Auguſtus, which I had cauſed to be conſtructed on the mountain of the plain I before ſpoke of, being finiſhed, I ſent ſixteen men to guard it, until further orders from the Court; and I diſtributed among them ſix pieces of ground in the environs, for the commencement of a vigorous cultivation.

On the 7th, upon the report of the commanding officer, that very conſiderable theſts had been made out of the royal magazines, of which the ſtorekeeper had not given any account, I cauſed the latter to be arreſted, and proceeded to interrogate two perſons of the name of Picard and Julien, who had been accuſed of ſelling the ſtores to the natives. The reſult of this proceeding evinced, that theſe two men, who by the negligence of the ſtorekeeper had almoſt the entire management of the effects, had appropriated a conſiderable part to their own uſe. They were thereupon ſent off, namely, Julien to France in the Poſtillion, and Picard to the iſle of France, with information of the proceedings againſt them; and the effects which were found in the hands of theſe two criminals were returned to the ſtorekeeper.

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On the 8th, the Saclaves came to ſell two hundred and fifty oxen, which I was very ready to purchaſe, as I was convinced of the great advantage of carrying on a reciprocal commerce between the ſettlement and that rich province.

On the 12th, Deputies arrived from Hiavi, grand chief of Foul Point, with one hundred and twenty armed men, who informed me, that the object of their coming was to ſupport me againſt the Saphirobay, who had entered into a ſecret alliance with the blacks of the Southern part of the iſland. They informed me, that their ſmall party would be reinforced by a much more conſiderable number. The Saphirobay being informed of this proceeding, prepared to abandon their country; but when my interpreters informed them, that their pardon depended only on their repentance, and the confirmation of the oath which I had required of them, to diſcontinue the horrible cuſtom of deſtroying their new born infants, in the caſes before-mentioned, they all repaired to Louiſbourg on the 13th, with their wives, who, being convinced by my reaſoning, entered with the greateſt ſatisfaction into the oath of never ſacrificing their infants in future, as they had formerly been accuſtomed to do. Such an intereſting engagement was naturally ſucceeded by a grand entertainment; and I thought it becoming the honour of the nation to contribute to it, for which reaſon I gave orders for the diſtribution of brandy and other preſents.

On the 14th, ſeveral chiefs of St. Mary, and other allied provinces, ſent deputies, with near ſix hundred men, to warn me, that the Saphirobai were troubleſome and treacherous

treacherous people; and that, notwithſtanding their repeated oaths, they continued to engage the Southern provinces in their party to exterminate us; and that they came with their forces to ſupport me againſt them. The poſition in which I found myſelf after this advertiſement, led me to the following reflections: I was but too well acquainted with the treacherous diſpoſition of the Saphirobai; and their puniſhment would be merely an act of juſtice: but in making war upon them, I expoſed my men, who are of ſuch value in this country; beſides which, in deſtroying this nation, I ſhould put an end to the cultivation of the ground; and the indiſpoſition of the iſle of France, or rather of its chiefs, gave me the greateſt reaſon to fear, that we ſhould not long receive from them even the moſt indiſpenſible ſupplies. It would therefore be evidently a great diſadvantage to the eſtabliſhment, to drive away a people, who being furniſhed with the moſt eſſential articles of ſubſiſtence and trade, were the only ſupport upon which I could depend. From theſe reflections I thought it of the greateſt advantage to gain the Southern provinces by preſents, to reſtrain the Saphirobai by flattering promiſes; and to engage the Sambarives to come and take poſſeſſion of the lands of the Saphirobai, in caſe the latter ſhould force me by their treachery, to drive them out of their province.

On the 15th, I convened a general aſſembly, where the oaths of fidelity were renewed; and it was at the ſame time agreed, that every chief who hereafter ſhould hold a ſecret meeting, ſhould be driven from his village, his lands ſhould be confiſcated to the eſtabliſhment, and his family reduced to ſlavery. That all thoſe who ſhould not

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aſſiſt the eſtabliſhment in caſe of an attack, ſhould loſe their lands, and that the Saphirobai ſhould pay twenty oxen as a ſatisfaction, which was immediately done.

At the end of the Cabar, all the women of ſeveral provinces appeared, who were deſirous of renewing, and cauſing the chiefs to renew the oath, that they ſhould never deſtroy their children, upon any pretence whatſoever, and they ſtrongly intreated me to ſend for my ſpouſe, who on account of her ill health, had been obliged to go to the iſle of France for the change; in order, as they ſaid, to depoſit in her hands an oath, which in the nature of things, regarded women more particularly, ſince it tended to the preſervation of their immediate offspring. They aſſured me, that their demands being conformable to their laws, they hoped ſoon to ſee my ſpouſe. This requeſt appeared to me ſo natural, and ſo conformable to the views which I had propoſed of gaining their confidence, that I began to think very ſeriouſly of ſending for Madame Benyowſky, even at the riſk of her health.

On the 19th, I ſent the interpreter Deſcotti, to the Sambarives, to engage that great province to attach themſelves entirely to us; and I returned to the plain, where nothing remarkable had happened ſince my departure.

On the 20th, a private veſſel, named the Belle Artier, commanded by the Sieur Auger, arrived in the harbour, with an order from Mr. Maillart, for three hundred thouſand pounds of white rice, for the ſubſiſtance of the iſle of France; but having learned from the Captain, that this rice was on his own account, and that he had purchaſed it of Mr. Maillart, at the rate of ſixteen livres the hundred weight, with the intention of carrying it for ſale to the Cape

Cape of Good Hope. I refuſed to deliver it to him, as I could ſell it for twenty-two on the ſpot; and as the Sieur Auger begged me to give him the value in ſlaves, I agreed very willingly, becauſe by that means, I ſhould clear myſelf of my ſlaves, of whom I had a number in a ſituation where they could eaſily deſert.

By the ſame veſſel I received a letter from Meſſrs. De Ternay and Maillart, in which I ſaw with the greateſt pleaſure, that thoſe gentlemen had ſent to Madagaſcar a ſtore-keeper, and people to be employed in the adminiſtration, together with the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes, to perform the office of ſupercargo; and that the latter was coming in the veſſel La Belle Poule, which was expected to arrive very ſoon at Louiſbourg with ſtores. I therefore gave orders for making an inventory, in the preſence of the Sieur Aumon, ſtore-keeper, and his people, of all the effects in the King's magazines, and directed that they ſhould be put into his hands.

The day after the arrival of theſe new officers, I was informed, that, not content with the common women, the young men had entered into all the huts of the blacks, and attempted, ſword in hand, to force the huſbands to abandon their wives to them. The complaints which at the ſame time were brought by the chiefs of the Saphirobai, having juſtified this report, I ſent a guard to ſearch for theſe people, who arreſted them, and they were thrown into priſon.

But as our new ſurgeons were among them, and theſe were abſolutely neceſſary for the ſervice of the hoſpitals, I was obliged to ſet them at liberty, as well as the clerks of the adminiſtration, who had fallen into the ſame impru-

dent behaviour; and from whoſe miſconduct I had great reaſon to fear, that ſome abuſes would take place in the ſtore-houſes, particularly in the account of receipts and diſburſements. But as Mr. Maillart in his laſt letter, had conjured me to place entire confidence in the perſons he had nominated, I agreed to his demand, though I could not but be convinced, that the choice he had before made at firſt of a ſupercargo, had been attended with conſiderable loſs of the King's ſtores.

On the 24th, I put my packets for the Court into the hands of the Sieur Saunier, Commander of his Majeſty's brig the Poſtillion, with my inſtructions, and twenty-five blacks, addreſſed to the Sieur Percheron, agent of the iſlands of France and Bourbon, to be remitted to the Sieur Auger at the Cape, in payment of the three hundred thouſand pounds of rice,* and he ſet ſail for France the next day.

On the 28th, in conſequence of the packets I received from the Sieur La Boulaye, officer in my corps, whom I had ſent to the iſle of France to raiſe men, which were wanting in the eſtabliſhment; by which I underſtood, that he had ſucceeded after many difficulties, in engaging ſeveral workmen, and that he waited only for a favourable opportunity of forwarding them to Madagaſcar. I judged it of the greateſt importance to haſten their paſſage; for which purpoſe I diſpatched his Majeſty's veſſel La Coureur, commanded by the Sieur Deſmouſſeaux, officer of the blue, in whoſe hands I put diſpatches for

* After the word rice (ris) in the M S. follow the words, *Je le cherchai en meme temps des eſclaves portes No.* 16, which I have not attempted to tranſlate. W. N.

Meſſrs. De Ternay and Maillart; in which I informed the latter of the behaviour of the clerks he had ſent, and ſtrongly preſſed Mr. De Ternay for a ſupply of men to reinforce my troops, in order that I might be able to carry my eſtabliſhments into the country of the Seclaves.

On the 30th, a private brig, La Flore, commanded by the Sieur Fayeuſe, ſailed out of the harbour with one hundred and ſixty million pounds of rice, which he had received in exchange for ſea ſalt, which was placed in his Majeſty's ſtore-houſe.

On the 1ſt of October, 1774, the interpreter whom I had ſent to Manahar, ſent information, that he had ſucceeded very well in the miſſion I had intruſted to his care; that the Sambarives had nothing more at heart than to ſecure our friendſhip; that they were ready to quit their mountains to come and inhabit the lands of the Saphirobai, where they could ſupply the eſtabliſhment with four thouſand men in time of war. But that as the interpreter had not ſpoken to them but in his own name, purſuant to my orders, they were then about to ſend ſeveral of their chiefs as deputies to me, to conclude this affair, of ſuch great importance to themſelves, ſince it ſecured them my friendſhip, and placed them under my ſafeguard. I was greatly pleaſed with this good news, as I found myſelf by that means in a ſituation to ſupport a war againſt the Saphirobai, which was almoſt inevitable; and I immediately eſtabliſhed a poſt with that friendly nation, to ſecure their attachment.

On the 2d, I repaired to the plain, where I knew that Meſſrs. Mayeur and Corbi, whom I had ſent upon diſcoveries to the Weſtward, were to make their rendezvous.

As I aſcended the river, I received great ſatisfaction in ſeeing ſeveral places lined with inhabitants, who made repeated diſcharges of their muſquets, and cried out in their language, Long live our father.

On my arrival at the plain, I learned from the Sieurs Corbi and Mayeur, that in paſſing through the interior parts of the iſland, which was extremely rich in oxen, cotton, ebony, and gum guttæ, they had found all the inhabitants very much diſpoſed to join my intereſts; but that the knowledge they had of the ſmall number of my forces, did not permit them to turn their backs on the Arabians, who had long frequented their coaſt, and had acquired a certain empire over them, as well by the quantity of merchandize they brought, as by the forces they could oppoſe againſt them. But that they waited, in order to unite with me, only for the moment in which they could face the Arabs.

Upon this report, I ſhould have been deſirous of making a new expedition into the country, more eſpecially as theſe two officers added, that the road of communication required only a common ſhare of labour, to make it practicable by land: But the want of aſſiſtance on the part of the iſle of France, obliged me to ſuſpend this important operation. The Sieurs Mayeur and Corbi, had purchaſed eight hundred oxen, in the two or three days journey they had made.

On the 7th, in conſequence of the arrival of his Majeſty's frigate the Belle Poule, commanded by the Chevalier Grenier, I left the plain and returned to Louiſbourg. On my arrival at Mahetompe, I learned from Mr. Sanglier, Commandant in my abſence, that Mr. Des Aſſiſſes, the ſupercargo,

ſupercargo, had arrived in the Belle Poule, with the aſſiſtants. I immediately repaired to Louiſbourg, to receive him in his quality of ſupercargo, and the Sieur Aumont, as ſtorekeeper.

The packets of Meſſrs. De Ternay and Maillart informed me, that the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes had received from the treaſury of the iſland, a ſum more than ſufficient to anſwer the appointments of my corps for a year. I therefore required pay for my troop for ſix months; but inſtead of ſatisfying my demand, he replied, that he had not only received no ſum at the iſle of France, but on the contrary had advanced out of his own pocket, ſums for the purchaſe of the moſt neceſſary articles for the eſtabliſhment. I therefore again adopted the expedient of applying to the purſe of my friends to repleniſh the treaſury, upon the demand of the ſupercargo and treaſurer, with a ſum which might pay the troops for the ſix months which were due.

Some days after his arrival, the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes convened ſeveral chiefs unknown to me, to whom he delivered a caſk of brandy, and aſſured them that he was come to ſupport them againſt me, in caſe I ſhould do them any injury; and that they might from thenceforth conſider him as their protector, becauſe he was come to Madagaſcar for that purpoſe, and to ſuperintend my conduct. This criminal proceeding in a perſon ſubordinate to me, was doubtleſs deſerving of exemplary puniſhment; but, as the tranſaction related to myſelf perſonally, I was content with reprimanding him in a very ſerious manner, on his abſurd conduct. He appeared to be affected with my remonſtrances. But a few days afterwards, I had reaſon to be convinced

convinced that he was, in more than one reſpect, the creature of Mr. Maillart.

The continual chagrin and diſquiet which I ſuffered, deſtroyed my health, and reduced me to ſuch an extremity, that the ſurgeons deſpaired of my life. In the height of my illneſs, the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes requeſted my officers to meet at his habitation; and on their refuſal, he waited upon them, and declared that he had particular orders from Mr. Maillart to ſeize all my effects and papers, in caſe my life was in danger; and that in conſequence of the evident danger in which I then was, he requeſted them to aſſiſt him in carrying his orders into effect. The reply of my officers conſiſted of a threat of vengeance, if he ſhould ever dare in future to make ſuch a propoſal to them. At the moment, however, in which the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes condemned me to death, a favourable criſis diſſipated my diſorder, by a ſpontaneous evacuation of bile, and placed me entirely out of danger. Great indeed was my ſurprize, when my officers came to expreſs their joy on my convaleſcence; and when I heard at the ſame time, from their report, of the conduct which this chief ſtorekeeper had adopted with reſpect to me, I immediately ſent for him, and reproached him for his conduct. Confounded as he was at the diſcloſure of his proceedings, he avowed, in the preſence of my officers, that all which he had hitherto done, had been founded on particular inſtructions of Mr. Maillart. He at the ſame time put into my hands theſe inſtructions, which might more properly be called a defamatory libel, of which I immediately ſent a copy to the Miniſter, addreſſing my packet to him by the Chevalier Grenier,

Grenier, Commander of his Majeſty's frigate the Belle Poule.

On the 20th, the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes requeſted me to ſign a verbal proceſs, declaring, that ſeveral conſiderable theſts had been committed in his Majeſty's ſtorehouſes; and in particular, that ſeventeen caſks of wine had leaked out ſince his arrival. I contented myſelf with replying, that I did not know what it was to affix my ſignature as authority for miſconduct; that I was by no means ignorant of the exorbitant conſumption of wine by himſelf and his people, while my officers could not have a ſingle bottle; and that with regard to the effects which had been ſtolen, I was well informed of his conduct with the women, and that he was too well acquainted with the thieves to think of forwarding any proceedings againſt them. This reply confounded him, and obliged him to retire without attempting to make any anſwer.

This miſconduct on the part of the adminiſtration, was ſo much the more infamous, not only becauſe the magazines ſuffered; but as the articles of trade coſt theſe gentlemen nothing more than the trouble of drawing out a verbal proceſs, they every day purchaſed articles at an exorbitant price; inſomuch that it became neceſſary to pay three livres for articles, which before their arrival might have been had for ten ſols. I therefore gave orders, that all the proviſions which the blacks were deſirous of ſelling, ſhould be expoſed in the market; and at the ſame time forbad the purchaſe of them at a higher rate than the price ſettled at the preceeding Cabars.

The Sieur Des Aſſiſſes, notwithſtanding this new prohibition, which was ſo conformable to ſound policy, was the

the firſt to infringe it, by directing all the proviſions which the blacks brought to the Bazar, to be conveyed to him; but the officer of the guard did his duty, and the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes was puniſhed, by the confiſcation of what he had purchaſed.

We were ſtill but weakly fortified; and the houſes which had been conſtructed according to the manner of the country, began to decay. I thought it neceſſary therefore to work, both on the fortifications and on the conſtruction of other habitations. I cauſed to be drawn up, or rather I drew up myſelf a plan, plate 19, fig. 2. for the conſtruction of a fort; a houſe for the Governor, built with boards, and one hundred and thirty log houſes. I was not a little ſurprized to hear the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes, animated by the diſpoſition of Mr. Maillart, openly exclaim againſt theſe indiſpenſible labours. He aſſerted, that he knew no chief but Mr. Maillart; and that his orders were contrary to theſe augmentations. He not only expreſſed his deſire, that they ſhould not take place, but threatened likewiſe, that he would inform the blacks that he would not pay any of them who might be employed. This abſurd behaviour extorted no other emotion but compaſſion; and as from that moment I conſidered this intendant as a deſigning perſon, though incapable of executing a project ſo badly conceived, I cauſed ſeveral chiefs to be aſſembled, in order to propoſe this enterprize to them, being determined to apply again to the purſe of my friends, to pay their ſalaries, in caſe the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes perſevered in his refuſal to pay them. Their reply confirmed me in the opinion I had conceived of that gentleman. They all aſſerted, that they would not work, be-

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becauſe the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes had aſſured them, that I had only a very ſhort time to remain at Madagaſcar; but that he would not pay them if they worked for the eſtabliſhment by my orders. I diſmiſſed this weak ſet of men immediately with indignation.

Such was the execution of the brilliant promiſes of the Intendant of the iſle of France, even by a man whom he had nominated his ſub-delegate. My troops were exhauſted by continual labour and fatigue, and the officers were threatened to be deprived of the fruit of their labour, by the information which the ſtorekeeper gave them, that they ſhould ſoon be diſmiſſed by a new commander, whom he aſſured them would be ſubſtituted in my place in a ſhort time.

The iſlanders were thus prejudiced againſt the eſtabliſhment, by the public calumnies of thoſe whoſe duty it was to contribute moſt to their union. The individuals compoſing the eſtabliſhment, being extenuated by continual fatigue, and ſeeing themſelves abandoned and betrayed at every ſtep they took; the troops in want of cloathing, badly lodged, and very imperfectly fortified.—Such was our moſt critical ſituation; and the more eſpecially it was to be regretted, as it was the work of perſons charged with orders to give every poſſible aſſiſtance to an eſtabliſhment which was founded on the moſt extenſive views.

On the 2d of November, the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes, conſtantly animated by the ſpirit of Mr. Maillart, aſſembled at his houſe all the clerks and people employed in the adminiſtration, and in their preſence drew out a verbal proceſs, importing, that the particular inſtructions of the Intendant of the iſle of France, which he had through fear put into my hands, were written by himſelf, and that Mr.

Mr. Maillart had no ſhare in them; but that circumſtances having obliged him to draw out this falſe piece, he avowed its want of foundation. I was immediately informed of this vile proceeding, and went without delay to the raſcal, with my Major; and having ordered him to communicate his papers, the original of the private inſtructions, ſigned by Mr. Maillart, was found, and admitted by the impoſtor.

The reſt of the month was employed in ſuch works as the volunteers of my corps were capable of, and in which the convaleſcents were ſo zealous as to join us. The other abſurd circumſtances of the conduct of Meſſrs. Des Aſſiſſes and his people, which were always founded on the particular and verbal inſtructions of Mr. Maillart, being only a repetition of thoſe with which he had begun on his firſt landing, I think it unneceſſary to repeat them, but ſhall only obſerve, that in order to excite the iſlanders to work who were diſguſted by the pernicious converſation of the principal ſtorekeeper, I employed my own black domeſtics, and thoſe whom I employed in my houſe, as I choſe rather to deprive myſelf of their perſonal ſervices, than omit any occaſion of contributing to the good of the eſtabliſhment.

The firſt part of the month of December, was employed in the uſual works; but on the 11th, I ſaw with the greateſt ſatisfaction, the arrival of his Majeſty's brig Le Coureur, with my ſpouſe, whoſe preſence was ſo neceſſary for the aboliſhment of the cruel cuſtom of deſtroying of the children born on days which were reckoned unlucky, or which were in ſome reſpects imperfect. The ſame veſſel brought the Sieur de la Boullaye, whom I had ſent to the

iſle of France, on the urgent buſineſs of the colony, with orders to engage, with the conſent of Mr. De Ternay, the proper workmen to forward the buildings, which we could not diſpenſe with. He informed me, that he had brought with him thirteen workmen, ſix ſoldiers, and two paſſengers, in the number of which was the Marquis D'Albergotti De Vezas, Chevalier of St. Louis, and ancient Captain of infantry, who came to offer his ſervices; which, however, I could not accept without having received the conſent of the Miniſter. His long ſtanding in the ſervice, and his misfortunes, which had ſo much reſemblance to my own ſituation, attached me to this officer, to whom I offered a lodging and my table, which he accepted.

On the 13th, the women of ſeveral provinces, being informed of the arrival of my ſpouſe, came to take the oath before her, that they would never ſacrifice any child hereafter to their criminal cuſtoms; and it was further agreed, that thoſe who ſhould break their oath, ſhould be made ſlaves, and exported out of the country; and that the children which were born with any defect, which, according to their cuſtoms, might have formerly been the cauſe of putting them to death, ſhould in future be ſent to the eſtabliſhment, to be brought up at our charge, without its being in the power of the parents to reclaim them.

This oath was ſucceeded by a feſtival, in teſtimony of the general ſatisfaction.

After terminating this buſineſs ſo important to the eſtabliſhment, and ſo advantageous to humanity, I directed my views to the perfect knowledge of the Northern coaſt of the iſland; in conſequence of which, I ſent the Sieur Mayeur, with eighty armed blacks to ſupport him in his

march, with orders to go in the Periagua, and examine all the harbours, bays, and rivers on that coaſt, and engage the principal chiefs of the provinces in our intereſts; at the ſame time that he ſhould excite them by preſents, if neceſſary, to take part againſt the Seclaves, whoſe enemies I knew they had always been; and to finiſh his miſſion, by acquiring an accurate knowledge of the iſland Noſſebe; after which he was directed to return by land to Louiſbourg, to give an account of his obſervations.

At the ſame time I gave orders to part of my troops to proceed upon diſcovery of the rivers and plains, which were in the vicinity of the chief ſettlement; and directed the Sieur Garaut de Beaupreau, chief engineer of the iſland, to embark in his Majeſty's brig Le Coureur, to make a plan of the Southern coaſt, as far as Fort Dauphin. I likewiſe ſent three Periaguas to ſound the Bay of Antongil, both on the Eaſtern and Weſtern ſhores.

On the 19th, perceiving that the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes, the principal ſtorekeeper, perſiſted in not lending any aſſiſtance in the works eſſential to the eſtabliſhment; and that he perſevered in exciting the province of the Saphirobai againſt me; to the chiefs of which he had inſinuated, that by declaring themſelves againſt me, they would do a thing very agreeable to the government of the iſle of France, I thought it neceſſary, at laſt, to take an effectual reſolution. In conſequence of which, I aſſembled the officers of the corps to explain to them our circumſtances, and the conduct of the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes, and requeſted their advice reſpecting what they might think proper to be done in the caſe. Their opinion was agreeable to my own: I therefore gave orders to put him under an arreſt, which was done

done the ſame hour. But as it was neceſſary in the mean time, to keep up a regular account, I nominated Mr. Aumont to ſupply his place.

The report of the diſgrace of the principal ſtore-keeper, deſtroyed the hopes of the Saphirobai chiefs; and they came to the number of ſeven, on the 21ſt, with ſix hundred workmen, to be employed in the works I had determined to conſtruct. Theſe chiefs engaged beſides with me, to ſupply the ſettlement with ſix thouſand pieces of wood, and four thouſand madriers, or planks. This proſpect of the return of the iſlanders to our intereſt, tended greatly to diſſipate my apprehenſions.

On the 24th, the two detachments which I had ſent upon diſcovery, returned from their expeditions; and the officers in command gave me an exact account in the form of an itinerary, or journal, from which I was aſſured, that this immenſe country abounded with the moſt beautiful plains, watered with rivers; and that coloniſts only were wanting to turn them to the greateſt advantage. Sugar, cotton, indigo, coffee, tobacco, and all other productions, were found in abundance.

On the 22d, the brig Le Coureur being ready to ſet ſail, I gave orders to the Sieur Deſmouſſeaux, with an interpreter and a detachment, to embark, to make diſcoveries on the Southern part of the iſland. The ſame day I ſent Mr. Perthuis, Lieutenant, with Mr. Roſiere, and a detachment of ſix ſoldiers, and one hundred and eighty armed natives of the country, to make the ſame expedition by land.

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The latter days of this year offered nothing remarkable; the whole corps was employed in the works, which I had diſtributed among them in ſeveral gangs.

On the 29th, the Surgeon Major informed me, that the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes, by his irregular conduct, had contracted a diſorder, which his advanced age ought to have ſecured him from. Being actuated by compaſſion for his ſituation, I ſent Mr. De Sanglier to him, to exhort him to a more regular conduct; and at the ſame time I offered to re-eſtabliſh him in his charge, on condition that he ſhould declare publickly, and in a Cabar of the natives of the country, which I would convene for that purpoſe, that all which he had ſaid and done, was by the direction of a party in the iſle of France, whoſe government was jealous of the flouriſhing ſtate to which Madagaſcar would arrive under my conduct; and that he had followed this mode of proceeding, only to gain the favour of Mr. Maillart, who was exceedingly jealous of every good office which could be performed in favour of Madagaſcar.

On the return of Mr. De Sanglier, I was ſurprized to hear that Mr. Des Aſſiſſes had accepted my propoſition; and that he was truly ſorry for every thing that he had done, contrary to my intentions; and laſtly, that he would accept his charge, and promiſed to conduct himſelf in future, with moderation. The voluntary return of ſo dangerous a perſon, gave me great ſatisfaction; and I immediately ſent him an order to continue in the ſervice. This domeſtic pacification was not, however, ſufficient to calm my apprehenſions, as the afflicting view of the ſtate of the eſtabliſhment, perſecuted by the iſle of France, and

and abandoned by Europe, continually preſented itſelf to my mind.

January the 1ſt, 1775. Having convened the Saphirobai chiefs, the ſubmiſſion of the principal Intendant was made before them; and I had the ſatisfaction to ſee, that many of the chiefs looked on him with contempt. At the breaking up of the Cabar, the chief Raoul aſked to ſpeak with me in ſecret; and informed me, that the Cimanongou chief of the Seclaves, of the province of Antongin, had joined with the King of Bojana to declare war againſt me; that this chief Cimanongou, had ſent envoys to the Saphirobai, to invite them to join him againſt the eſtabliſhment; and that ſeveral of them were diſpoſed to accede to his propoſition, though others were determined to adhere to their reſolution of keeping their engagements with me.

This important advice required precaution on my part; for it was certain that the Seclaves were able to bring an army into the field of forty thouſand fighting men. But as it would have been dangerous to have ſhewn my apprehenſions, I diſſembled, and cauſed the public works to be carried on with greater ſpirit.

On the 7th, I received letters from the Sieur Mayeur, dated from Angontzi, in which he gave me an advantageous deſcription of that province. Its rich productions and abundance of cattle, ſurpaſſed my expectation; for which reaſon I determined, notwithſtanding my apprehenſions of the Seclaves, to ſend a detachment to eſtabliſh poſts. The details which Mr. Mayeur gave me of the diſpoſition of the chiefs of this province, led me to hope, that I might engage them to aſſiſt me in caſe of need

need. Mr. Mayeur informed me in his letter, that he durſt not venture to continue his progreſs without reinforcements. I therefore gave immediate orders to Serjeant Longueteau, to follow him with two hundred and fifty armed natives; and to remain ſubject to his orders. The following days were employed on the fortifications, and filling up the quay, which I had raiſed upon the ſhore within the bay.

On the 12th, I received deputies from the Sambarives and Antimaroa, who offered me five thouſand men, to ſupport a war againſt the Seclaves.

On the 28th, about midnight, I was alarmed at hearing three ſhot fired on the banks of the river. I gave immediate orders to the picquet guard to repair to the ſpot, but the detachment returned without having made any diſcovery. This alarm produced no other conſequence, than that of affrighting Mr. Des Aſſiſſes, the intendant, who ran intirely naked into the fort. This day I received information, that the navigation of the boats, coming down the river of Tingballe, and from Ranoumena, had become dangerous, on account of the different ambuſcades which the ill diſpoſed natives had placed to fire on them. I gave orders, therefore, to open a communication by land, and for this work I engaged the Rohandrian Sance, to ſend me four thouſand men.

From the 19th to the 28th, the ſettlement was employed on making the above mentioned communication by land.

On the 30th, I received an account from the poſts of Foul Point, Maſſoualla, Mananhar, Tamatava, and Angontzi, that articles of trade were abundant, but that the ſtore-

houſes were empty. This information induced me to purchaſe the entire cargo of the brig La Jollie Bourbonoiſe, amounting to ſixty-eight thouſand livres, which I diſburſed out of my own pocket upon the treaſurer's receipt. The ſame day I received letters from the adminiſtrators of the iſle of France, which tended to convince me of the intrigues and cabals which they employed, to deprive me of the confidence of the Miniſter, and to excite the enmity of the natives againſt me. I received more certain information on this ſubject from the Marquis D'Albergotti, ancient Captain in the ſervice of France, who was perſecuted by the government of the iſle of France, and had retired to Madagaſcar under my protection.

February the 1ſt. I received information, that Mahertomp, a chief eſtabliſhed near our principal ſettlement, had engaged with the Seclaves to aſſaſſinate me. As ſoon as I was aſſured of this by ſufficient evidence, I went to him unexpectedly with ſeveral chiefs, to remonſtrate with him on his treachery. He acknowledged his crime, and intreated forgiveneſs for having failed in his engagements; but his ſubjects declared, that they would not have any further concern with ſo perfidious a man. So that he was proſcribed, and baniſhed by his own people.

On the 2d, Mr. Corbi, one of my moſt confidential officers, in concert with the interpreter, informed me, that the old negreſs, Suſanna, whom I had brought from the iſle of France, and who in her early youth had been ſold to the French, and had lived upwards of fifty years at the iſle of France, had reported, that her companion the daughter of Rohandrian Ampanſacabé Ramini Larizon, having likewiſe been made priſoner, was ſold to the

foreigners; and that ſhe had certain marks that I was her ſon. This officer repreſented likewiſe to me, that in conſequence of her report, the Sambarive nation had held ſeveral Cabars, to declare me the heir of Ramini, and, conſequently, proprietor of the province of Mananhar, and ſucceſſor to the title of Ampanſacabé, or ſupreme chief of the nation; a title which ſince the death of Ramini Larizon, had been extinct.

This information appeared to me of the greateſt conſequence; and I determined to take the advantage of it, to conduct that brave and generous nation to a civilized ſtate, and the eſtabliſhment of a ſolid and permanent government. Its ſituation, its population, the fertility and excellency of its ſoil and climate, with a variety of other circumſtances, conſpired to induce me to lay a foundation for the eſtabliſhment of a power, founded upon national liberty. But as I had no perſon to whom I could intruſt the ſecret of my mind, I lamented to myſelf at the reflection how blind the Miniſter of Verſailles was to the true intereſts of France. I therefore contented myſelf with giving particular inſtructions to Mr. Corbi, reſpecting the anſwers he ſhould make to ſuch of the natives, as might queſtion him on this ſubject. On the ſame day I interrogated Suſanna, on the report ſhe had ſpread concerning my birth. The good old woman threw herſelf at my knees, and excuſed herſelf by confeſſing, that ſhe had acted intirely upon a conviction of the truth. For ſhe ſaid, that ſhe had known my mother, whoſe phyſiognomy reſembled mine; and that ſhe had herſelf been inſpired in a dream by the Zahanhar, to publiſh the ſecret. Her manner of ſpeaking convinced me, that

ſhe really believed what ſhe ſaid; I therefore embraced her, and told her, that I had reaſons for keeping the ſecret reſpecting my birth; but that, nevertheleſs, if ſhe had any confidential friends, ſhe might acquaint them with it. At theſe words ſhe aroſe, kiſſed my hands, and declared, that the Sambarive nation was informed of the circumſtance, and that the Rohandrian Raffangour waited only for a favourable moment, to acknowledge the blood of Ramini.

The time from the third to the ſixth, was employed in digging a canal of communication between the river and the harbour. This was perfected in four days, though it was fifteen hundred toiſes in length. But as I employed for this purpoſe near ſix thouſand natives of the country, the whole was performed with the greateſt eaſe.

On the 7th, the chief Ciewi, of the Sambarive nation, came to preſent two hundred young men of his nation, to ſerve me in quality of volunteers. I accepted the offer of this brave people, and gave orders immediately for forming them into a regular company. The officers La Tour, La Boullaye, and Evally, were charged with the diſcipline of this new troop, of which I appointed the ſon of Rohandrian Raffangour, commander.

On the 8th, Mr. Des Aſſiſſes, the intendant, repreſented to me, that he was deſirous of reſigning his employment, and retiring to the iſle of France. I agreed to his demand with ſo much the more ſatisfaction, as he was of no uſe to me. But as it was neceſſary that his accounts ſhould be firſt made up, I allowed him fourteen days for that purpoſe.

On the 9th, I received an account from an interpreter of the name of D'Ecolle, that an old man in the province of Mananhar, had ſpread prophecies concerning a general change of government in the iſland; and that he had aſſerted, that the deſcendant of Ramini would rebuild the town of Palmire. He added, that theſe predictions had occaſioned a tumult among the people, who being informed that the Sambarives had declared me to be a deſcendant of the line of Ramini, required their chiefs to ſend an embaſſy to me, to enquire into the fact; and in caſe it ſhould prove true, to bring me with them, and aſſure me of the ſubmiſſion of their province. From this reſolution, the Rohandrians Anacandrins, and Voadziri, had nominated chiefs, who were immediately to begin their journey by ſea.

On the 10th, I made an excurſion to the plain, and to fort Auguſtus, to haſten the works of the fortifications.

On the 11th, Mr. Mayeur, chief interpreter, informed me, that two Saphirobai chiefs had arrived, and demanded an audience. As ſoon as they were introduced, they declared, that being informed that I had concluded a treaty with the Sambarives, their enemies, they had determined to employ all their powers in preventing the conſequences of ſuch an alliance, which, in effect, was an infringement of all the oaths I had entered into with them; and that, in a word, they would rather declare in favour of the Seclaves, than become connected with the Sambarive nation. They ended by repreſenting, that my behaviour to Mahertomp had been violent; and that they had thought it proper to receive him into the Cabar, notwithſtanding the

ſentence againſt him. Juſtly irritated at this declaration, I made no other anſwer, than by an expreſſion of indignation, and commanding them immediately to withdraw.

The ſame day Raoul Rohandrian of the Saphirobai, who had informed me of the cabals of the Seclaves, came with excuſes reſpecting the proceedings of his nation, at the inſtigation of old Mahertomp; and aſſured me, that for his part he was ready to repeat his oath of fidelity and attachment to my perſon; and he put his ſon into my hands as a hoſtage.

After having treated him with the greateſt attention, I requeſted, that he would let me know the true reaſon of the oppoſition of the Saphirobai chiefs; and he told me, that the anceſtors of Mahertomp, and of Rohandrian Onglahe, had been concerned in the maſſacre of the family of Ramini Larizon, after which they had aſſumed the Sovereignty of ſeveral diſtricts, to the prejudice of the Sambarive nation, who being at that moment aſſured that they had found a deſcendant of the blood of Ramini, reclaimed, as his right, the different diſtricts ſeparated from the provinces of Antimaroa.

Upon this information, I aſked, whether his intereſt were not likewiſe to declare againſt the Sambarives; and he replied, that it was not; giving at the ſame time as a reaſon, that he was deſcended from the race of Safe Hibrahim, whoſe family had ſettled in the place where he dwelt, under the protection of Ramin Ampanſacabé, and that he at preſent was reckoned of the claſs of the Saphirobai, only becauſe he was deſirous of preſerving his poſſeſſions. I then queſtioned him, whether he had any knowledge of the heir of Ramini, whom the Sambarives announced; but

but as he anſwered, that he knew not a word on that ſubject, I thought it unneceſſary to queſtion him further; and aſſured him of the conſtant friendſhip which I ſhould always preſerve for him and his whole family.

Contented with my declaration, he aſſured me, that he was deſirous of ſupporting the eſtabliſhment with all his force. But he intreated me to conſider, that in caſe the eſtabliſhment ſhould be given up, what would be his ſituation when expoſed alone to the mercy of a body of enraged chiefs, who would not fail to ſacrifice him and all his family to their reſentment. This reaſoning appeared juſt; and with a view to give him perfect ſatisfaction, I declared that my only requeſt was, that he would remain neuter.

On the 12th, the engineer who had been employed on the work of the road leading to the plain, and towards Ranoumena, informed me that the whole was finiſhed; and I determined to inſpect this work myſelf the following day. This day I received an account that the Saphirobai had aſſembled in troops.

On the 13th, I went on horſeback from Louiſbourg to the plain, where I was aſtoniſhed to find the road finiſhed in ſo ſhort a time. It was four toiſes broad, ſix French leagues in length, and had a ditch on each ſide to carry off the waters. I thought it particularly became me to reward the people who had performed this work; I therefore gave them each a yard of blue cloth, and a bottle of brandy. To ſecure the communication of this road, I gave orders immediately to raiſe a redoubt on the height of Manambia, on which I built houſes for twenty-four men.

From the 14th to the 16th, I was employed viſiting the poſts dependant on Louiſbourg; and I diſtributed

ſeveral

ſeveral pieces of ground to the Europeans at the plain of Health, and at the plain of Fort St. John, on the bank of the great river. All theſe grounds naturally produced ſugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and Tacamahaca wood.

On the 17th, having returned to Louiſbourg, I gave orders for continuing the building, and increaſing the town; after which, on the 18th, I embarked in the country boats for Angontzi. This voyage employed eight days, and I took the opportunity of viſiting all the chiefs eſtabliſhed on the coaſt, who expreſſed the moſt ſincere attachment to me. Upon my arrival at Angontzi, I was charmed with the ſituation which my engineer had choſen to eſtabliſh the ſettlement; my wiſhes on this occaſion for an acceſſion of force to take advantage of the gifts which nature ſo prodigally held out, were great; but, alas, the hour of their accompliſhment was not at hand, and it was in vain that the beauty of the ſituation, the goodneſs of the ſoil, together with the mild and affable character of the inhabitants, led me to form projects I was unable to accompliſh.

The Rohandrian of Angontzi aſſembled a Cabar on the 27th, in which I received in perſon the oath of attachment and alliance of that nation. The reſt of the month paſſed in entertainments, which were given by the chiefs.

March the 2d, 1775, having received advice by land, that a number of the deputies of the Southern provinces had repaired to Louiſbourg, where they waited for me with impatience; and that the Saphirobai had burnt a village belonging to Manonganon, I determined immediately to return; and as the road by land, though difficult, was the ſhorteſt, I determined to go that way. The chief of Angontzi,

Angontzi, being informed of my deciſion, ordered his litter for me, with ſix hundred armed men for a guard. I ſeized an inſtant before my departure, to repreſent the advantages that would reſult from a road being made between Angontzi and Louiſbourg, he promiſed ſix thouſand men for this work, provided the people of Antimaroa would ſame number.

On the 6th, after a rather tedious journey, I arrived at laſt at Louiſbourg, where I was agreeably ſurprized to find that the marſh at the entrance of the town was intirely filled up. I was indebted for this work to the good will of the ſame friends who had made the road to the plain. This day I received the reports concerning the different parts of the ſervice of the eſtabliſhment, with which I was perfectly well ſatisfied, and convinced that nothing had ſtood ſtill during my abſence. Mr. Sanglier, who had commanded in my abſence, likewiſe informed me, that the deputies of five of the Southern provinces, had demanded a conference in Cabar; and that there were likewiſe ſix private chiefs, who had made the ſame requeſt. In conſequence of this, I ordered preparations to be made for holding a Cabar on the following day.

On the 7th, after having reſted myſelf, I conferred with Meſſrs. Mayeur and Corbi, reſpecting the different intereſts which had induced the deputies and the chiefs to have recourſe to me; and after having received the neceſſary information, I cauſed the Cabar to be aſſembled, at which the deputies were admitted one after the other. The firſt was from the province of Mananhar; the ſecond from Tamatava; the third from the iſland of St. Mary; the fourth from Manauzar; and the fifth from Matatava.

After

After the deputies, I received the chiefs; and as their intereſts were one and the ſame, I entered into one common oath with them: and when I had made preſents to them in return for thoſe they had brought, I diſmiſſed them, becauſe the affairs they were charged with required their ſpeedy return into their reſpective provinces.

On the 8th, Mr. Gareau de Boiſpreaux, engineer in chief, propoſed to me to erect a light-houſe on the iſle D'Aiguillon, and to erect a flag-ſtaff on the point of land, at the entrance of the river. He likewiſe requeſted that the people who had been employed by him before, might continue to ſerve him. I agreed to his requeſt, and gave him the neceſſary orders and powers.

On the 9th, having received a viſit from the chief Raoul, I propoſed to him to employ his ſubjects in making a road towards Angontzi; and after a long conference, I prevailed on him to promiſe four thouſand men for the ſervice: Manonganon and Mandinque, two other chiefs, promiſed likewiſe two thouſand men. Being thus aſſured of ſufficient aſſiſtance, I gave charge of the work to M. de Boiſpreaux, the engineer, and his aſſiſtant, M. de Roſieres. The plan was made the ſame day, and M. de Roſieres departed for Angontzi, to begin the operations on that ſide; while Mr. Gareau de Boiſpreaux began on the Louiſbourg ſide. This road was not to be of leſs extent than twenty-eight French leagues.

On the 10th, having learned that the Sieur Des Aſſiſſes, before his departure, had taken a large quantity of merchandize out of the ſtorehouſes, and had diſtributed them among the Saphirobai, with a view to excite them to riſe

againſt me, I ſent Mr. Certain to them with a declaration, that the ſaid Des Aſſiſſes had ſtolen the effects out of his Majeſty's ſtores, and that I ſhould conſider them as confederates in the theft, and act accordingly.

On the 13th, two Saphirobai chiefs arrived, and brought back great part of the merchandize which I had reclaimed; but they declared, that I ought not to attribute their proceeding to fear, but only to their open and honeſt character. The value of the effects diſtributed, with a view to deſtroy the ſettlement, amounted to more than twenty-three thouſand livres: an exorbitant ſum, conſidering that he had refuſed the ſum of fifteen thouſand livres for the neceſſary works, and conſtructing houſes in the town.

On the 15th, a ſignal was diſplayed on the mountain Manghabey, on the iſle d'Aiguillon, that two veſſels of two maſts were in ſight. They anchored in the harbour at eleven o'clock. The firſt was a brig of his Majeſty's, commanded by the Sieur Joubert, Lieutenant of a frigate; and the ſecond was the Coureur, which brought back the engineers I had ſent to explore the Southern provinces, and ſurvey the coaſt.

Captain Joubert, having preſented his letter, ſigned by the Governor of the iſle of France, and Mr. De Ternay the Intendant, I perceived that he had been ſent merely as a ſpy upon my operations. For the Captain depoſed, that his orders were to bring back to the iſle of France, the remains of my troops; and that he had been diſpatched upon the report that the natives had aſſaſſinated me, and cut off the greateſt part of my people, the remainder having taken refuge at Manghabey. The Captain, finding that this ſtory had been invented merely to gratify the chiefs

chiefs of the iſle of France, declared that he was ready to return according to his poſitive orders ſo to do, if he found me alive. This proceeding on the part of thoſe whoſe duty it was to ſupport me, put me out of all patience. I gave orders to the Captain to depart inſtantly, as his chiefs had ſent him only to inſult the eſtabliſhment.

About two in the evening, a ſignal was made, that two other veſſels were in ſight; and at ſix his Majeſty's frigate the Belle Poule, commanded by the Chevalier De Grenier, Lieutenant, anchored in the harbour. The Commander required proviſions and ſtores for his veſſel, which I cauſed to be delivered. This officer teſtified the moſt lively regret to find, that the chiefs of the iſle of France were ſo ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the ſettlement at Madagaſcar, and he took charge of my diſpatches for the Court of France. I was employed till the 22d, in drawing out my accounts, of which the following is a general ſtatement:

Sums advanced for the Eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar, 1772 and 1773.

	Livres	*s.*	*d.*
For levying the Regiment of Benyowſky, its tranſport to Madagaſcar, and the ſupplies of articles of trade 1774 and 1775, until the 20th of March -	342649	12	5
Bills of Exchange drawn to the amount of	113000	10	3
Total received -	455650	2	8

Expenditures.

For the troops during the years 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775 - -	141432	0	0
For the Marine. To his Majeſty's veſſels the Poſtillion and Coureur -	396864	6	4

FOR THE SETTLEMENT.

Building the Governor's houſe, roads, canals, fortifications, &c. -	315916	11	8
Supplies to the iſle of France in ſlaves	161412	0	0
——————————— in rice -	84000	0	0
Proviſions to ſeveral of his Majeſty's veſſels - - - - -	41423	11	7½
	1141048	12	7
Deduct the ſums advanced -	455650	2	8
	585398	9	11
And alſo the ſums advanced by myſelf -	245000	0	0
* Neat profit produced by the Adminiſtration - - -	340398	9	11

* This ſum, which is the difference between the receipts and diſburſements, is not neat profit. The reſult of the above account is, that the ſettlement coſt

This clear account ought to have produced a good effect on the mind of the Miniſter. For as it was ſhewn that no more than the ſum of liv. 455650 had been advanced, and that the ſingle object of the maintenance of the troops and veſſels at ſea, amounted to liv. 538296, he might eaſily perceive the immenſe advantages that might in a ſhort time be expected from Madagaſcar.

On the 23d, the Belle Poule ſet ſail, and on the ſame day I received advice by a courier from Foul Point, that the Fariavas and Betalimenes, had declared war upon Hyavi, and that hoſtilities had already commenced. The commanding officer at Foul Point preſſed me for orders, whether he ſhould aſſiſt Hyavi or not. In conſequence of this news, I determined to repair to Foul Point myſelf, in order to pacify the people.

On the 24th, after giving orders relative to the ſervice at the chief eſtabliſhment, I eſtabliſhed a camp of eighty ſoldiers and two thouſand natives, to ſecure the ſettlement againſt any ſurprize on the part of the Seclaves, and Saphirobai; and then departed for Foul Point, accompanied by two officers and ſix hundred warriors of the Sambarive nation. As I paſſed by Mananhar, I was joined by the troop of Sauce, and the people of Antimakol, and found myſelf at the head of near five thouſand armed men,

coſt the French, liv. 455650 2 8, and liv. 245000, which make together £700650 2 8. This is not equal to the whole charge, or £854212 18 But the ſettlement paid the difference, £153562 15 4. and alſo ſupplied the iſle of France, and the King's ſhips, with £286835 11 7½. This laſt ſum only is the return, and if taken from the whole ſum advanced, will leave livres 413814 10, or the loſs ſuſtained by the French government, by the effect of this undertaking during the above time. Note of the editor.

On

On the 27th, my army was reinforced by the troop of Ambarante, and I arrived on the 1ſt of April at Foul Point.

I found the brig Le Coureur already here at anchor, with my artillery and ammunition. This day I eſtabliſhed my camp near Tametavi, and in the evening I ſent for Hyavi, to enquire of him reſpecting the cauſe of the war. As he could give me no good reaſon, I defered explaining myſelf, until I had heard from the other party; to whoſe camp I ſent that very night, to engage the chiefs to come and ſpeak with me.

On the 2d, I received deputies from the Betalimenes, and Fariavas, who declared to me, that the two nations would abide by my deciſion, in the hopes that I would liſten only to the dictates of that juſtice, which the ſpirit of God would inſpire me with. They then declared, that Hyavi was the author of the war, by forbidding the Betalimenes and Fariavas to frequent the market at Foul Point; that he had confiſcated the cattle, ſlaves, and proviſions of the merchants of their nation, which they had brought for ſale to the ſettlement; and, laſtly, that the ſoldiers of Hyavi had ſurprized one of their villages, and taken away ſeveral young women, whom they had ſold to the French merchants.

Being thus informed of the cauſe of the war, I diſmiſſed the deputies with ſome preſents, after I had promiſed to ſettle the whole diſpute to their ſatisfaction, provided they allowed me the neceſſary time for that purpoſe. They engaged to do this, and returned to their camp very well ſatisfied, at having found me diſpoſed in

their favour. For Hyavi had ſpread a report, that I was coming to aſſiſt him.

The next ſtep I took was, to invite Hyavi to my quarters, when I reproached him for his conduct, and the licence he had given his ſubjects to diſturb his neighbours. I ſpoke ſo urgently to him, that he confeſſed himſelf to blame; but at the ſame time begged I would act in ſuch a manner, as not to degrade him in the eyes of his enemies. I engaged to regulate my proceedings according to his deſire, on condition that he ſhould ſubmit to ſuch terms as I ſhould impoſe, both on him and the Betalimenes and Fariavas. After I had thus obtained the promiſe of both parties, I gave orders for holding the Cabar on the 3d, to which Hyavi and his chiefs, and alſo the Betalimenes and Fariavas were invited.

On the 2d, at day-break, I put my troops under arms, and ranged them in order of battle. About ſix, the Betalemines and Fariavas arrived, to the number of eight or ten thouſand armed men; and a ſhort time after came Hyavi with his people. So that the number of men under arms, who were preſent that day, amounted to near twenty-two thouſand. At eight the Cabar began, and as I was deſirous of avoiding all particular debates, I propoſed to both parties, to form that day a treaty of alliance and friendſhip, which I would guarantee, together with the nations of the Sambarives and Saphirobai; and farther I propoſed, that they ſhould enter into the following engagements:

1. That trade ſhould in future be free between the three nations, without the reclamation of any particular right, (or impoſt).

2. That

2. That Hyavi ſhould give up, or cauſe to be given up, the perſons who had lately been ſurprized and carried off by his ſoldiers; and that for every one of them who could not be found, he ſhould return two of his own ſubjects.

3. That the Betalimenes and Fariavas, ſhould not in future, receive amongſt them any fugitive ſubjects of Hyavi; and that they ſhould compel all thoſe, who during the laſt three months, had taken refuge amongſt them, to return two ſlaves each for his perſon.

4. That the Betalimenes, Fariavas, and the ſubjects of Hyavi, ſhould furniſh a ſufficient number of workmen, to open a road of communication for the general advantage of trade along the coaſt, from Foul Point to Bohitſmenes.

And in conſideration that this laſt article was one of the moſt eſſential for their mutual intereſts, I declared my intention of appointing ſeveral of my officers to ſuperintend the work.

After a continual debate of three hours, which every inſtant threatened to end in a general engagement, they at laſt became calm, and agreed to the firſt article; and with regard to the ſecond and third, they concluded that all paſt inquiries ſhould be buried in oblivion, without any reclamation being admitted on either ſide; and that in future, both nations ſhould either give up the fugitives from the other, or at leaſt drive them out of their dominions.

With reſpect to the fourth article, they agreed to ſend five thouſand men to work on the road propoſed to be made. Theſe conditions thus ſettled, were ratified by an oath, in which the chiefs who came with me joined as witneſſes

witneſſes and guarantees. Hyavi then cauſed fifty oxen to be killed, as did likewiſe the Betalimenes and Fariavas, and they were cut up and diſtributed among the troops.

On the 4th, the Betalimenes being deſirous of teſtifying their gratitude, preſented my troops with five hundred oxen. The Fariavas did the ſame, and Hyavi gave five hundred oxen and fifty ſlaves. The cattle were divided among my followers; but I gave the ſlaves their liberty, on condition that they ſhould eſtabliſh themſelves near one of my ſettlements, and pay a tenth of the produce of their lands.

Having thus happily concluded upon a peace to the ſatisfaction of all parties, I determined to return to Louiſbourg; and delayed my departure only till I had received the honours, which the belligerent parties were deſirous of ſhewing me. At the concluſion of the feſtival, the Fariavas gave my troops forty ſlaves and two hundred oxen, and Hyavi on his part, gave two thouſand piaſtres.

On the 11th, I arrived happily at Louiſbourg, where I found affairs in a good train.

On the 12th, my chief interpreter having informed me of the approaching arrival of envoys from the King of Boyana, at the ſame time apprized me, that the chiefs of the Saphirobai and Antamboi, had ſent deputies to the ſaid envoys, to engage them in their intereſts againſt the ſettlement. I received a farther confirmation of this news from an old woman, a native of the country, who informed me beſides, that the Saphirobai had gained the chief of the embaſſy of the Seclaves by preſents; and that the latter had engaged, under the ſanction of an oath, to ſeek means of breaking off the negociation; and to

find ſufficient reaſons to engage his nation in their party. I was perfectly aſſured of the truth of this information, from other blacks attached to the ſettlement, who had been preſent at the making of the oath.

Finding myſelf thus engaged in the moſt critical ſituation, I took the reſolution of ſending the brig La Flore, to the iſle of France, to demand a ſupply of arms and ammunition; and by the ſame conveyance I ſent back my family, with the greateſt part of my houſhold, in order to carry on my operations againſt the Seclaves with the greater activity. The veſſel was diſpatched without delay to the iſle of France, with the Chevalier de Sanglier, Captain in my troop, in order to preſs the adminiſtration of that colony, to forward the neceſſary ſupplies with the utmoſt ſpeed.

On the 21ſt, the chief Raoul came to me, to requeſt a ſupply of men, becauſe the Saphirobai chiefs, with the Seclaves, had determined to deſtroy him, on account of his refuſal to enter into the combination againſt the ſettlement. The account I received from this chief, of the different preparations the confederates had made to attack the ſettlement, left me no doubt of the near approach of a war, which there was no means of avoiding. But as I did not expect ſuccours in any ſhort time, and all my force was reduced to the effects which might ariſe from firmneſs and courage, I thought it proper ſtill to keep up my hopes.

On the 13th, I went in the night to the Plain of Health, that the enemy might not be informed of my abſence; and immediately on my arrival, I put that poſt into a ſtate of defence. It was guarded by twenty-nine ſoldiers, and

five hundred natives, whom I could depend upon. The command was in the hands of M. de Mallendre, Captain, and M. de la Boullaye, Lieutenant. For a greater ſecurity, I cauſed paliſades to be ſet on that ſide of the wood, through which the enemy might make an attack, by paſſing near the foot of the mountain, ſheltered from the cannon of the fort. On the river ſide, I likewiſe cut down all the trees and underwood, that the artillery might command as far as Cape de Zaſaiche. After having thus put this important fort in a ſtate of defence, I embarked in my boats to return to Louiſbourg. As I paſſed by the territory of Mahertompe, I diſcovered a camp of the enemy, who fired ſeveral ſhot at my boats; but the diſtance being too great for them to reach us, I arrived ſafely at Louiſbourg, where I found every thing in good order.

On the 28th, I was informed of the arrival of envoys from the Sambarives of the Eaſt and Weſt. They demanded a conference, to the excluſion of other nations; and at the ſame time aſſured me, that if I liſtened favourably to them, and granted them my friendſhip, they would ſoon deliver me from all my enemies. Such a propoſal could not but be very agreeable to me. I therefore gave orders for making the due preparations for holding our meeting.

On the 20th, the Cabar or aſſembly was held, at which were preſent on the part of the ſettlement, the Count de Benyowſky, Commander; Meſſrs. Perthuis, De la Boullaye, and Roſier, Lieutenants; Unbanowſky, Engineer; Beſſe, Interpreter; and on the part of the Sambarives, the Prince Raffangour of that nation. The propoſitions of the Sambarives were delivered in the following ſpeech.

" The nation of the Sambarives, the people of God, eſtabliſhed in the provinces Mananhar and Maſſoualla, have ſeen with grief, that the ſettlement of Louiſbourg has entered into treaties of friendſhip and alliance with other nations, in preference, and to the exclusion of theirs; and that at preſent, all thoſe nations have united together againſt their benefactors, and have even invited our people to join with them againſt the white men. But as the Sambarives have always walked in the paths of juſtice, our nation has refuſed their offers, preferring the friendſhip of the chief of the white men, to every inducement of relationſhip or alliance, which might exiſt between ourſelves and his enemies. In conſequence of this diſpoſition, the Sambarive nation offer to aſſiſt the ſettlement with five thouſand men, to be employed againſt its enemies; and hope, by this action, that they ſhall be thought worthy of an alliance, the value of which they are well convinced of."

After having heard this harangue, I replied, that I had always been deſirous of their alliance, but that the remoteneſs of their province had not hitherto permitted me to treat with them directly. I aſſured them, that the offer of ſupplies inſpired me with an high opinion of their ſentiments; and that I ſhould accept this mark of friendſhip with the greateſt pleaſure, as it would juſtify the unbounded confidence I was determined to place in the Sambarive nation, reſpectable for the blood of Ramini.

The envoys then conſulted together for a ſhort time, and agreed to enter into the uſual oath of allegiance. The reſt of the day was employed in rejoicing; and in the evening my interpreter informed me, that the Sambarives

rives had diſappeared. This news gave me ſome concern; becauſe as the oath of alliance had been taken, they ought to have apprized me of their departure.

June the 1ſt, 1775. At four in the morning, my interpreter announced the arrival of the Saphirobai chiefs, who had formed a league with the Seclaves; and likewiſe informed me, that they had about three thouſand armed men with them, by means of whom he was aſſured they meditated a ſurprize. An hour afterwards, the chief Raoul came to demand an aſylum for himſelf and family, at the ſame time that he acquainted me, that he had been plundered by the confederates, and had only time to ſave the lives of himſelf and family; that part of his people had been made priſoners by the enemy, and all his goods were deſtroyed by the flames. The unfortunate fate of this chief affected me much, and I begged him to retire with his family into the fort. This chief, in the infancy of the eſtabliſhment, had been conquered and driven out of his province by my allies, becauſe he oppoſed the building of a fortreſs; and in the preſent inſtance he ſuffered for his attachment to me.

At nine o'clock, the Seclaves and Saphirobai appeared at the diſtance of about a cannon ſhot. Their troops conſiſted of more than three thouſand men. They ſent deputies to requeſt me to come to their camp to hear their complaints. This expreſſion rather diſconcerted me, as their complaints were backed by an armed force. But at laſt, not to give them reaſon to imagine that I was awed by their appearance, I put my troops in order to defend the fort, and went to the place of meeting. On my arrival, I ordered my interpreter to attend to their propoſals and

complaints. The confederates then demanded, that I ſhould withdraw my troops from the interior parts of the iſland, eſpecially from the poſt at the plain of Health; and that I ſhould diſpenſe them from the oath by which they had ſurrendered to me the banks of the river Tingballe, becauſe they ſaid they had been ſurprized by the promiſe I had made them of a ſecure trade, which ſhould afford them the ſame advantages they had enjoyed with private traders, and of which they had been deprived ſince the arrival of the military. They concluded their harangue by obſerving, that their intereſts did not admit of the troops being allowed a ſettlement; and they added that private traders, upon coming amongſt them, had always paid a duty, of which they had been deprived ſince the eſtabliſhment of the ſettlement; and more particularly they declared, that formerly every merchant, and even King's veſſel, on its arrival, ſaluted the chiefs with two guns, a reſpectful cuſtom which I had maliciouſly aboliſhed.

After having calmly liſtened to their ſpeech, and finding myſelf in a very critical ſituation, I replied, that they would do well to conſider what they were about; that as they had ſurrendered to us the lands we were in poſſeſſion of, they could not reclaim them without violating their oath. Beſides which, having entered into an alliance with the ſettlement, every violent proceeding on their part would authorize me to employ my troops in puniſhing them; ſo that I could not make them any ſatisfaction without poſitive orders. That the demolition of the fort, and withdrawing of the troops from the internal parts of the iſland, were things impoſſible to be agreed to; that with regard to the honours, I would give orders to the officers

of

of the ſhipping to do as they had formerly done; but that with regard to their pretended right to a duty on ſhips, which entered their ports, it was ridiculous, becauſe it had never been heard that friends and allies received thoſe who came only to trade, from any other motives than to ſerve themſelves.

My ſpeech aſtoniſhed the people; but ſome of the chiefs cried out, let us come to buſineſs, and took notice that they could not have a better opportunity, as they had one in their hands, and could oblige me to do that by force which I refuſed to do from good will. In the mean time, I found myſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, and ſhould certainly have paſſed a quarter of an hour very diſagreeably, if the Commander* at the head of fifty blacks, had not haſtened to my aſſiſtance. His ſpirited attack obliged a party of the enemy to oppoſe him, while another detachment having attacked the fort, and ſuffered a vigorous repulſe, threw their troops into confuſion. This gave me an opportunity of making my eſcape. I ſaw only two chiefs who oppoſed my paſſage. I parried their ſtrokes, upon which they cried out, he is a ſorcerer, we are undone. Taking advantage of their ſtupidity, I rallied the troop of my Commander, among whom I found ſeveral of my officers and ſoldiers, who ſeeing me ſurrounded, had ſacrificed themſelves to aſſiſt me. The Commandant of the fort likewiſe, ſeeing me clear of the enemy, pointed the cannon, and prepared to fire, which he had forborn to do before, leaſt I ſhould become the victim of his fire. The enemy ſoon perceived my eſcape; and for fear of the artillery, haſtily retired towards the wood, firing a few ſhot as they retreated.

* Name not legible.

On

On my arrival at the fort, I ſaw my troops again with much ſatisfaction, as I could not give too much praiſe to them for their attention to orders. It may here be objected that I did not act prudently, in putting myſelf in this manner in the hands of the enemy, as it was in my power to have prevented their approach, by making uſe of my cannon. In anſwer to which, I muſt obſerve in my juſtification,

1. That in order to be at liberty to act againſt a nation, which it is intended to civilize, it is neceſſary to be in poſſeſſion of facts that prove them the aggreſſors.

2. A chief cannot diſpenſe with attending to complaints. If I had refuſed to comply with a requeſt which carried ſo much the appearance of juſtice, the party of the complaining nation might have found means of inſpiring others with ambiguous ſentiments, and my conduct would have afforded them authority for ſo doing.

3. If unfortunately in a Cabar or aſſembly, I had made uſe of cannon, which would have produced a maſſacre, the other neighbouring nations, being ill informed of the circumſtances, would always have ſuſpected that I had premeditated the ſtroke; and that the aſſembly had been convened for no other purpoſe than to exterminate them. An event of this nature, however founded in juſtice, would have been ſufficient to have alienated the minds of every one for a ſhort time; but by avoiding it, my conduct was productive of real advantage. The neighbouring people, informed of the conduct of the Saphirobai and Seclaves, and of the moderation with which I had repelled them, could not delay to join our cauſe. The war we were about to enter into, would be juſtified before it could be criticiſed.

ciſed. For this reaſon likewiſe it was, that I determined to make offers of peace to our enemies, which they refuſed, and by that means cleared us of all reproach.

On the 3d, the interpreters, whom I had ſent to the Saphirobai, with offers of peace, returned with the information, that the confederates had haughtily refuſed every propoſal of accommodation, and had ſent a party of a thouſand men to take the poſt at the plain of Health. The next day I received news, that the enemy had been repulſed at fort Auguſtus, and at the plain.

On the 5th, the chief Sancé arrived with one thouſand men, to aſſiſt the ſettlement againſt the confederates. This chief was deſcended from a pirate named Zan. In the night of the ſame day, I was apprized of the arrival of thirty boats of the country, bringing ſix hundred armed warriors from the province of Rantabe.

On the 6th, a detachment I had ſent to reconnoitre the enemy returned, and informed me, that the Antambour nation, allied to the Saphirobai, had eſtabliſhed a camp in the plain, and waited only for the junction of the Saphirobai and Seclaves to attack the poſt. And that on the other hand the Saphirobai and the Seclaves had formed three camps, between the poſt at the plain and the chief ſettlement, to cut off the communication. The ſame day I was informed of the arrival of fifteen thouſand armed men, of the Sambarive nation, who came to aſſiſt the eſtabliſhment, and requeſted to be ſent againſt the enemy without delay.

On the 10th, the Sambarives being all joined by the Mulatto chiefs, compoſed a body of upwards of ſix thouſand men, with which I took the field. The campaign

promiſed to be laborious, on account of the neceſſity of climbing rocks and mountains, and paſſing over marſhy lands, which threatened to deprive me of the advantage of my cannon.

Having at laſt approached the enemy's camp, who were eſtabliſhed in the plain of Mahertomp, I ſent Meſſrs. L'Armina and certain officers of my corps, with fifty volunteers, and two thouſand blacks, with orders to attack the enemy's poſt at ſun-ſet. Soon afterwards we heard ſeveral repeated diſcharges, which obliged me to march to ſupport my detachment, who had not been able to diſlodge the enemy from the advantageous ſituation they were encamped in. But the firing ceaſing all at once, I ſuppoſed the parties had ſeparated. To arrive at a certainty, I ſent two volunteers, who reported, that they had obſerved two camps at a little diſtance from each other, and that each were buſied in forming entrenchments. After this information, I ſent Lieutenant la Tour, of my corps, to make a circuit to the other ſide of the enemy's camp, where he was ordered to remain concealed till midnight; after which time he was to ruſh impetuouſly upon them, and at the inſtant of our attack to fire on them from the other ſide. My officer performed his orders with great exactneſs; and I heard ſeveral reports of pateraroes at two in the morning, at which inſtant, as I was ready to march, I proceeded ſtrait to the enemy; but inſtead of enemies, I met the Sambarives on the road, who, having heard the reports of the large pieces, ſuppoſed that I had attacked the enemy. Being thus united by accident to the whole of my forces, I entered the plain of Mahertomp, where we found no enemies, but in their place, my officer, with his detachment. He informed me, that, purſuant to my orders, he had briſkly

briſkly attacked the enemy's camp, who, upon hearing the repeated diſcharge of cannon, imagined the attack to be ſupported by our whole army, and had made their eſcape, ſome by ſwimming, and the reſt into the woods. My detachment collected upwards of two hundred muſkets, which the fugitives had left in their haſte. Forty priſoners were taken by my people.

Having in this manner become maſter of the plain of Mahertomp, which is really the moſt agreeable ſpot, and the richeſt part of the whole province of Antimaroa, occupying a ſpace of ſix leagues along the banks of the river of Tingballe, and more than thirteen in depth, perfectly well cultivated and inhabited throughout, I judged it proper to eſtabliſh a poſt to preſerve it, and to ſecure a communication between it, and the chief ſettlement, and the plain of Health. As I had ſix thouſand blacks under my command, I ſet them to work without delay on this project; and while I thus employed my people, I determined to ſend back the priſoners with propoſals of peace, to convince them of our good intentions. But theſe infatuated people ſtill refuſed to accede to my propoſition.

On the 12th, the redoubt was finiſhed at the plain of Mahertomp, in which I left twelve volunteers, commanded by an officer, and defended by four cannon, which I had cauſed to be brought from Louiſbourg. I then proceeded with my whole army to the plain of Health, where on my arrival I learned that the enemy, to the number of ſeven or eight thouſand, was encamped at no more than two leagues diſtance from us; and that their camp was well entrenched and paliſaded. This ſtopped my progreſs, until I could receive four field pieces from Louiſbourg. But the chiefs

of my allies being deſirous of proving their valour, without waiting the arrival of the artillery, went and attacked the enemy unknown to me. They made ſeveral fruitleſs aſſaults, and being at laſt repelled, they retired as far as to the foot of the mountain, with the enemy cloſe at their backs.

My four pieces of cannon being at laſt arrived, I marched myſelf, with thirty volunteers and two hundred diſciplined natives, in the pay of the ſettlement. We departed in the night unknown to our allies, and at day-break, after having erected two batteries, I began a very hot fire on the enemy. In the ſpace of half an hour, one ſide of their paliſade being entirely deſtroyed, they abandoned their firſt entrenchment, and filed off behind a kind of redoubt, from which they were likewiſe diſlodged. At laſt they haſtened, in the utmoſt confuſion, to a branch of the river of Ranoumena, which was out of the reach of my cannon. But my allies, being informed that I was engaged with the enemy, ran up, and ſeeing the camp taken, quickly paſſed the river, attacked and drove them without reſiſtance. This whole buſineſs was performed with only two volunteers wounded, who were my cook and ſervant. The loſs of the Sambarives conſiſted of eleven men, and of the enemy about ſixty-five. The Sambarives purſued them for ſome days, as far as their frontier; but I remained at the plain of Health.

On the 21ſt, after having refreſhed my people, I raiſed my camp at the plain, in order to be nearer the ſecond diviſion of the enemy, who had retired into the moraſs of Ampangou, upon an iſland of about ſix leagues in circumference, and ſurrounded with water.

On

On the 22d, I arrived at the plain of Mahertomp, where I pitched my camp at the foot of the new redoubt. Five days were employed in diſcovering the paſſage through the moraſs, and in reconnoitring the poſition of the enemy.

On the 27th, I raiſed my camp at the plain of Mahertomp, and after having paſſed the river of Tingballe, I arrived at the entrance of the moraſs, from whence we diſtinctly ſaw the enemy's camp, at the diſtance of about a league and half, and conſiſting of four thouſand men.

On the 28th, we received a check at the entrance of the river Ranoufoutchy, which the enemy were obſtinately determined to defend. The Seclaves loſt ſo many men, that they quitted their allies, whoſe forces were conſiderably weakened by this event.

On the 29th, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes took place between our people and the enemy. This night four volunteers, who had been ſent to collect wood for the uſe of the camp, paſſed the moraſs, and thought proper to amuſe themſelves by attacking the enemy, to whoſe tents they ſet fire.

July the 1ſt, 1775. Continual rains increaſed the waters of Ampangou to ſuch an height, that our camp was overflowed, and we were obliged to retreat above a league. Our enemies, attributing our retreat to another cauſe, took courage and attempted to harraſs us.

From the 2d to the 8th it rained continually, which gave the enemy time to ſurround their camp with a ditch and paliſade.

On the 9th, I received advice, that a party of about three thouſand of the enemy had rallied ſince the defeat of the

the Antambours, and had joined the oppoſite camp; and that another party were very troubleſome in the neighbourhood of Louiſbourg. On this day I heard of the arrival of a veſſel.

On the 10th, the officer commanding the redoubt at the plain of Mahertomp, which I had named Fort St. John, wrote to me, that reports were current to the effect, that the enemy was deſirous of forming a treaty of peace with me, to the prejudice of the Sambarives and other nations in alliance, who already began to murmur, more eſpecially as I did not attack the enemy, though they did not conſider the obſtacles occaſioned by the overflowing of the waters.

On the 13th, the enemy being in want of proviſions in their camp, out of which they dared not ſally for fear of my party, began to repent of their warfare. In conſequence of this information, I ſent ſeveral boats loaded with rice and bananas, with ſome brandy; and let them underſtand, that I was ſo far from being deſirous of exterminating them, that I would leave them a clear paſſage to retreat, whenever they thought proper, on condition of their laying down their arms. Accordingly, I withdrew two poſts which guarded the paſſage from the iſland to the firm land. This ſtep was attended with much ſucceſs; for the enemy perceiving themſelves every day more diſtreſſed by famine, began to retire in troops, and ſeveral came to me. Theſe I received kindly; and after giving them ſome proviſions, I ſuffered them to go where they pleaſed.

On the 14th, I received information from Louiſbourg of the arrival of the private ſhip the Conquerant, commanded

manded by the Sieur Olivier, from the iſle of France, which brought diſpatches from the government of that colony; wherein I was informed, that the Chevalier de Sanglier, Captain of my corps, whom I had ſent to demand ſupplies, had received an abſolute refuſal. This diſagreeable news gave me the greateſt concern; but as it was a ſtep of prudence to encourage my people, I gave out, that this ſhip would be followed by two of his Majeſty's packets, with a ſupply of one hundred men; and I ſucceeded in deſtroying, in ſome meaſure, the conſternation of my officers.

From the 15th to the 19th, I was informed that the enemy had entered into a treacherous correſpondence with part of our allies. I therefore ſet my confidential ſpies at work to make diſcoveries.

On the 20th in the morning, a detachment, which had been ſent out of the camp to obſerve the enemy, diſcovered two blacks making their eſcape; the elder of whom ſaid to the other, "Run and tell them, that no dependance can be placed on thoſe whom they ſuppoſed to be their friends, and that I am taken." This black, being brought before me, confeſſed that he had been ſent to ſeduce part of our allies; but that not having ſucceeded, they had been deſirous of informing their countrymen, that we intended to attack them. Upon this depoſition, I immediately cauſed a meeting of ſeveral chiefs to be held, who condemned him to death. I conſented to their decree with greater willingneſs, becauſe the man was found to be the ſame, who in the infancy of the ſettlement had engaged to ſet fort Louis on fire. His ſentence was immediately carried into execution.

On the 24th, the commanding officer of fort St. John reported, that a ſoldier of the name of La Gonivier, lately arrived from the iſle of France, had made ſeveral mutinous propoſals, by aſſuring the troops that they were abandoned, and that the iſle of France was ſo far from ſending any ſupplies, that on the contrary, its chiefs ſought every occaſion to deſtroy us. Being deſirous of verifying the fact myſelf, I gave directions to the officer to take no notice; and with a view to watch the man more narrowly, I ordered him into my own camp. In the night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, hearing a noiſe, I came out of my tent, and ſaw the ſoldier, La Gonivier, make ſeveral ſtrokes with a ſabre at the officer of the guard, at the ſame time that I diſtinctly heard him ſay, "That the time would ſoon come, when the ſoldiers ſhould command the officers at Madagaſcar." I therefore called the guard, which ran and endeavoured to take the mutineer. The man in deſpair ruſhed on them, and wounded two, crying out, "Come on, my friends." This call at firſt led me to ſuſpect a plot. I obſerved, however, from all the motions of the volunteers, that they remained compoſed and ſteady in their duty, by cloſing upon the mutineer, who fled towards the wood, but was brought down by a ball. This unexpected event, which tended to diſconcert our black allies, induced me to haſten his execution. I therefore called a council of my officers without delay, but the criminal expired of his wound before his trial came on.

On the 28th, the enemy remaining ſtill in a ſmall number on their poſts, which they were obſtinately determined not to quit, being encouraged by the promiſe of thirty

thirty thouſand men on the part of the Seclaves, I determined to attack them. But as I had no intention of cauſing a maſſacre, I adviſed them of our approach by ſeveral diſcharges of cannon.

On the 26th, 27th, and 28th, our black allies purſued the enemy; who retired to the Northern parts of the iſland, as far as the frontiers of Antimananhar.

Auguſt the 1ſt. The Sieur Bourdé, to whom the Miniſter had granted the whale fiſhery on the coaſt of Madagaſcar, not having ſucceeded in his enterprize, requeſted my permiſſion to purchaſe rice, in order to indemnify him for his want of ſucceſs. I willingly agreed to his requeſt, as the eſtabliſhment being deſtitute of merchandize, could not carry on any commerce itſelf. I granted the ſame permiſſion to the Sieur Olivier, who brought a veſſel from the iſle of France.

Auguſt the 3d, being delivered from our enemies, and the province of Antimaroa being without cultivation, I propoſed to the Sambarives, to replace the Saphirobai, who had been driven out of their province. My propoſition was joyfully accepted, and they immediately agreed to pay me an annual acknowledgment for the protection of the eſtabliſhment.

On the 4th, a general meeting being held for the diviſion of the conquered lands of the enemy, I gave the right branch of the river of Tingballe to the Sambarives, and kept the left branch for the eſtabliſhment. Several parties of the Saphirobai deteſting the offences they had committed againſt the eſtabliſhment, now came to requeſt forgiveneſs. The kind and affable manner in which I received them, ſoon cauſed them to forget their loſſes, and to condemn their chiefs, who had ſacrificed their people

to their own private intereſts. From theſe fugitives I likewiſe learned, that the Saphirobai were forced to wander in the woods, and ſubſiſt upon roots, becauſe the chiefs of the other provinces refuſed them an aſylum. I determined, therefore, to take advantage of this circumſtance, to ſhew the uprightneſs of my intentions; and for this purpoſe, on the following day, I ſent commiſſioners to the neighbouring chiefs, to deſire them to aſſiſt the Saphirobai with the neceſſaries of life, and to receive them freely, provided they renounced their purpoſe of continuing the war. This ſtep could not but be productive of manifeſt advantage.

On the 5th, another embarraſſment preſented itſelf. The ſubſiſtance of the troops of our allies became chargeable to the eſtabliſhment, and I determined to diſmiſs them. But this, according to the cuſtom of the iſland, could not be done without recompenſing them by preſents.

The 6th, 7th, and 8th, were employed in the diſtribution of the preſents; and I had the ſatisfaction to ſee the different nations with their chiefs, return contented with my manner of proceeding.

On the 9th, I was attacked by a fever.

On the 10th, being no longer employed by the war, I directed my attention entirely to procure the comforts of life for the eſtabliſhment, on a good footing. Being convinced of the inconveniences to which my people were expoſed, in houſes conſtructed with leaves, after the manner of the country, I determined to conſtruct the whole of wood. My troops, with two thouſand hired blacks, ſhould have been employed in building new apartments for the Governor, with an hoſpital, barracks, and ſtore-houſes,

and

and two hundred other blacks in building ſixty houſes, to form the town; and during the building, the troop of Sance, compoſed of twelve hundred men, ſhould have laboured in filling the moraſs. But it was unfortunate, that I was then without the means, otherwiſe Louiſbourg would ſoon have changed its appearance.

On the 16th, my diſorder increaſed, and I felt an univerſal weakneſs, which obliged me to place the command in the hands of Captain Mallendre, reſerving to myſelf, however, the communication of all affairs of importance. My illneſs, however, became continually worſe, ſo that I was not conſulted on any buſineſs whatever.

On the 20th, I was ſomewhat better, and received information of the death of the Sieur Garreau.

On the 1ſt of September, this brave and intelligent officer was carried to the tomb, to the regret of the whole corps. The place of engineer which he poſſeſſed, being rendered vacant by his death, I gave orders to the Sieur Roſier, the ſcholar of the Sieur Garreau, to perform that office.

On the 21ſt, the officers of my corps waited upon me, and requeſted, that I would give them orders relative to the intention of the Court, with reſpect to the eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar; that in caſe my illneſs ſhould prevent my being in a ſituation to attend to the colony, they might act conformably to the good of the ſervice; but finding myſelf weaker that day than ordinary, I requeſted them to meet at my houſe on the 22d.

On the 22d, the fever left me, and I found myſelf ſomewhat ſtronger. This day the meeting was held, for the

reſult of which, ſee the piece, L. X. at the end of this memoir, by which the council was adjourned to the 25th.

On the 25th, the council met by adjournment, and I received information, that eight wooden houſes were finiſhed, in which the troops were lodged.

October the 1ſt. The Sieur Olivier, maſter of a private veſſel from the iſle of France, by whoſe means the ſubſiſtance of the eſtabliſhment had been provided for, ſet ſail with a cargo of ſix hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of rice; the Sieur Bourdé likewiſe took in a cargo of eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of rice. This ſupply of proviſions muſt have been very acceptable; and if the iſle of France had ſupplied our ſtore-houſes with merchandize, a prodigious quantity might have been had, which the iſlanders waſted for want of ſale; and there is reaſon to apprehend, that this want will diminiſh their induſtry next ſeaſon.

On the 2d, the Sambarive chiefs requeſted permiſſion to erect flag ſtaffs on their territory, to diſtinguiſh the chiefs from each other. I agreed to their requeſt, and at the ſame time diſtributed to each chief a white flag, with different ſtripes of red and blue, to diſtinguiſh their degrees. The ſame day the Saphirobai chiefs, who had always remained attached to the government, requeſted permiſſion to build a town, under the protection of fort Louis, in order to defend them from the incurſions of their adverſaries. I agreed to their requeſt with pleaſure, as it afforded a means of attaining my purpoſe, which was to people the province as much as poſſible, on account of its vicinity to the chief ſettlement, where the conſumption

tion muſt naturally be more conſiderable, than in any other part of the iſland.

On the 3d, I began to perceive a return of my ſtrength, and I found the hoſpital entirely empty; a circumſtance which ſhews, that my troops at this time were ſtronger than ever. I do not, however, here ſpeak of that vigour which is natural to Europeans in their own country, but which they loſe in hot climates.

On the 4th, Hiavi, chief of the province of Mahavelou, demanded my aſſiſtance againſt the Fariavas and Betalimenes, who had declared war againſt him. As this chief had always acted in the intereſts of the Europeans, I determined to aſſiſt him; and for that purpoſe, detached ſeven volunteers with a ſubaltern officer, to Foul Point, to act according to the orders of the commander at that out-ſettlement. I was convinced before hand, that the mere report of my having taken part with Hiavi, would put an end to the war.

On the 6th, the hoſpital, with all the adjoining buildings, were at laſt finiſhed in a ſolid manner; but, fortunately, we were at this time in a ſituation to keep them vacant.

From the 7th to the 12th, I made an excurſion, to viſit the diſtrict which had been ſurrendered to the Sambarives, on the banks of the river Tingballe. The lands were excellent, but the territory annexed to the eſtabliſhment by the late conqueſt, were greatly ſuperior. What immenſe riches might be derived from a diſtrict of land, twenty-two leagues in length, upon the coaſt of a navigable river? This excurſion entirely reſtored my health.

On the 13th, I gave orders to cover the poſt of fort St. John, by a broad ditch and double paliſade, with a covered way, and to build ſeveral houſes in wood, for the accommodation of ſuch as might ſtop there, in their way to the plain of Health.

On the 14th, I received a courier from the Sieur Mayeur, interpreter, and Mr. Corbi, officer of my corps, the latter of whom I had ſent in boats round the Northern parts of the iſland, while the former went by land along the ſhore, in order to examine all the bays, harbours, and rivers, the inhabitants, their numbers, forces, induſtry, productions, and mutual intereſts. I ordered them to continue their journey, until they arrived at the territories of Lambouin, a chief who aſſumed the title of King of the North. My intention was to engage this chief in our intereſts, and to purchaſe of him the iſland Noſſebe, ſituated to the N. W. of the iſland of Madagaſcar, in 13° 15′ S. latitude, and 45° 6′ longitude from Paris. Theſe two officers ſent me their journals of the coaſt. They informed me, that they had joined company in the territories of the chief Lambouin, by whom they were amicably received; that this chief being aſtoniſhed at the renown of the white men, had determined before their arrival, to ſend ambaſſadors to me, to form a treaty with the eſtabliſhment, and that profiting by his good diſpoſition, they had cauſed him to enter into an oath of friendſhip; that they had purchaſed the iſland Noſſebe of him; and that having in this manner attained the purpoſes of their miſſion, they waited only for my orders to return.

Being thus aſſured of the attachment of Lambouin, whoſe intereſt it was to ſecure himſelf againſt the vexations

of

of the Seclaves, I could depend on a reſpectable ally, capable of furniſhing fifteen or twenty thouſand men.

From the 15th to the 20th, being in perfect tranquillity, and my troops being recovered from their fatigue, I recommenced the works, and employed them in building a place of reſidence for the Governor.

On the 21ſt, I received information that ſeveral bands of the Saphirobai fugitives had approached the eſtabliſhment, where they had burned ſeveral houſes of the Sambarives; upon which I immediately detached twelve volunteers, commanded by an officer, and ſupported by ſix hundred blacks, to clear the woods and their avenues.

On the 22d, my detachment returned in the evening with three priſoners, whom they had taken, after ſurprizing a party of theſe black robbers.

On the 23d, I received a packet from my officer, who commanded at Foul Point, in which he informed me, that the enemies of Hiavi had made offers of peace, on condition that the commander of that poſt ſhould be appointed judge, to determine the differences which might ariſe between them and Hiavi; but that the latter, not having thought proper to conſent, my officer engaged to bring Hiavi to reaſon, provided he might have permiſſion to uſe threats, in caſe he obſtinately continued to refuſe his compliance. As this manœuvre promiſed to gain an entire people to my intereſts, and I was well aware of the prudence of my officer, I returned preciſe orders to him in conſequence.

October the 24th. The end of the month now approaching, without the arrival of any news from Europe, and the return of the Chevalier de Sanglier, whom I had

ſent for ſupplies to the iſle of France, being likewiſe retarded, produced the moſt afflicting reflections in my mind; and I had no other reſource than my firmneſs againſt the unhappy fate which purſued me. I conſidered the approach of the bad ſeaſon, during which, if the ſupplies ſhould continue to be with-held (as it would be out of my power to form eſtabliſhments in the interior parts of the country), I had every reaſon to expect that the ſettlement would be again plunged into the moſt critical ſituation. The troops ſeeing none of the ſupplies arrive, upon which their hopes had been hitherto ſupported, muſt of courſe conſider themſelves as abandoned; and that with ſo much the more certainty, as the reports ſpread in the iſle of France, concerning the reduction of my troops, had been divulged at Madagaſcar, notwithſtanding all my precautions. The courage of my officers, who had adopted the firm reſolution of doing their duty, by encouraging their men, was the only circumſtance which ſupported me, and gave me reaſon to preſume that I might ſtill reſiſt the preſſure of misfortune. But who could anſwer for the continuance of my force, which muſt every day become leſs effectual? What an unhappy ſituation it is for a Commander in Chief, who, after having reſiſted the intemperature of hot climates, ſuffered dangerous diſeaſes, and undergone infinite fatigue;—who, after having ſeen his troops diminiſhed one-third, finds himſelf under the neceſſity of facing every circumſtance, without loſing the advantages he has gained, but on the contrary, preſerving them againſt ſudden revolutions; and who, inſtead of the ſupplies he has requeſted, is expoſed to the jealouſy and calumnies of perſons in place, who were ordered by the Government

Government to afford him every aſſiſtance!—A promiſe was made me, that I ſhould receive every year ſupplies, and a reinforcement of one hundred and twenty men; and that in the mean time the iſle of France ſhould ſupport me in every preſſing exigency; and in a word, that nothing ſhould be wanting for the ſucceſs of my miſſion. But, alas, two whole years were gone, and I ſtill remained without ſupplies. If they were ſtill delayed, I ſaw that the fatal inſtant would not fail to arrive, in which the fruits of all my labour, care, and fatigue would vaniſh, and France be for ever deprived of the power of regaining the confidence of the natives. Such were the reflections that oppreſſed me, and on an occaſion like this, the pen can never deſcribe the ſufferings of the mind.

From the 25th, to the end of the month, I employed my time in viſiting the poſts, which I found every where in perfect order. But I found ſadneſs and depreſſion in every countenance; a ſadneſs which certainly did not ariſe from a ſpirit of mutiny. I knew my troops too well to ſuſpect it. But I could be at no loſs for the cauſe. Deſtitute of linen, of clothes, or covering, I beheld them diſheartened, and had no external reſource to relieve them, and reſtore their ſpirits.

November the 1ſt, 1775. Activity and reſolution were never more neceſſary. I collected a number of the native women, whom I employed in making cloth, and ten volunteers were ſelected to perform the occupation of taylors, in clothing my poor fellows. I ſucceeded in tanning ſkins, and being provided with ſhoemakers, the proſpect of again poſſeſſing ſhoes, began to be more chearing than before. Nothing therefore remained, but to divert

my men. For this purpoſe I exerciſed them in firing at at a mark, and gave a prize to ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves. This exerciſe tended to render them more ſerviceable, and was at the ſame time an object of entertainment. In conſequence of this determination, I put a ſtop to the ordinary works, and began the exerciſes.

On the 4th, I was informed of the arrival of the Saphirobai chief Effonlahé, who was ſent by his nation to demand an audience. I referred him to the next day, in order to give time to the Sambarive chiefs to come together, and be preſent at the delivery of the propoſitions of this envoy.

On the 5th, the aſſembly being met, the envoy of the Saphirobai entered. His head was ſhaven, as a mark of ſubmiſſion, and proſtrating himſelf on the ground, he pronounced theſe words. "I, the unfortunate chief of the race of the Saphirobai Antimaroa, throw myſelf at the feet of the juſtice and mercy of the great Chief, to implore his grace, in the name of my whole nation, which requeſts permiſſion to ſend deputies to expiate its fault. I am come before to offer my life if it be neceſſary. Conqueror, in us thou mayeſt no longer behold an enemy, but the remains of an unhappy people, who are obedient and ſubmiſſive to thy laws."

After having liſtened to his ſpeech, I replied as follows: "I have beheld with ſorrow the irregularities of the Saphirobai chiefs. I call your own nation to witneſs, with what tenderneſs I have conducted myſelf, with a view to maintain an alliance and avoid a war, whoſe conſequences could not fail to end in your deſtruction. And thou, chief Effonlahé, who now ſpeakeſt with me, ſay, waſt thou not

not three times charged to carry offers of peace to thy countrymen? Am I to blame that my offers produced three refuſals? Judge then this day, who has acted wrong; and who it is that has deſerved the chaſtiſement of heaven. The oaths of fidelity, by which we were united before this unhappy war, have been ſported with by you. You have broken your engagements with us. You have dared to infringe a compact made in the preſence of the great God. It is he who has puniſhed you, and purſues you with his vengeance.—But I am charged never to refuſe the offers of friendſhip made by the people of Madagaſcar. It is my duty to protect the unfortunate, and to render juſtice where it is due, at the price of my blood, and that of my companions. It is by virtue of theſe orders that I grant forgiveneſs to the nation of the Saphirobai. They may without fear ſend any of their chiefs to me during the courſe of the enſuing month, to regulate the common intereſts of both nations."

The envoy of the Saphirobai, contented with my anſwer, repeated his prayers, thanked me, and retired.

The Sambarive chiefs, who were preſent at the aſſembly, informed me of their apprehenſions, that as I had pardoned the Saphirobai, I ſhould reſtore them their entire province, and conſequently, that they ſhould be forced to abandon their eſtabliſhment. But when they had received an aſſurance from me, that that part of the province which had been granted to them, ſhould remain in their poſſeſſion, by virtue of the treaty concluded with the Saphirobai, they became contented.

From the 6th of November, to the 13th, I was conſtantly employed in exerciſing my troops; and their

cloathing being at laſt ready, was diſtributed among them.

On the 14th, a courier from Foul Point, accompanied with two chiefs, ſubject to Hiavi, arrived. My officers informed me, that Hiavi had at laſt conſented to my requeſt, and that peace was concluded on; but that on the other hand, the chiefs who were ſubject to Hiavi, were meditating a revolt againſt him, as they could no longer bear his oppreſſion. The two chiefs who arrived with my courier, gave me an account of this, and aſſured me, that the people who were ſubject to Hiavi, were perfectly willing to ſubmit to the ſettlement, provided I would declare againſt their Sovereign. I might perhaps have liſtened to this propoſition at another time; but in the ſituation I then ſtood, it would not have been prudent to have engaged myſelf in an affair of ſuch a nature, as might have produced very ſerious conſequences. I therefore contented myſelf with promiſing to theſe two chiefs, that I would bring Hiavi to reaſon, and in the mean time I forbad them to make any attempt againſt him, until I had aſcertained the facts myſelf. My promiſe was accompanied by preſents, with which they were well ſatisfied.

The intereſts of the ſettlement required, that the power of Hiavi ſhould be limited, but a ſudden revolution might probably endanger the government; and it is not till after a courſe of time, that the authority of certain chiefs can be diminiſhed. In the mean time, it is neceſſary to treat them with mildneſs, and to explain to them their true intereſts. For it is certain, that the Madagaſcar nations can never be ſubjugated by force, and the work of civilization cannot be accompliſhed, but by a man who by his conduct,

conduct, virtue, and juſtice, ſhall have acquired the confidence of the chiefs and people.

The 15th and 16th, were employed in reparing all the ſhallops, boats, and canoes, and putting them in a ſtate for ſervice.

On the 17th, the Sieur Aumont, ſtorekeeper, died. I immediately gave orders to the clerk to ſeal all his effects and papers, to forward them to Mr. Maillart; and on the other hand, that the ſervice might not ſuffer, I gave orders to make an inventory of the contents of the ſtore-houſes, which I entruſted proviſionally to the Sieur Beſſe, treaſurer, conformably to the intention of the Miniſter, who, in his letter took notice, that the treaſury and ſtores might be entruſted to one perſon. This buſineſs was quickly performed, but I was greatly aſtoniſhed to hear from the Secretary of the adminiſtration, that all the regiſters of entry and diſburſements were blank. This admirable method of keeping accounts, muſt no doubt have been productive of no very agreeable conſequences to Mr. Maillart, who choſe theſe people.

On the 18th, I received advice from the blacks, that an Engliſh ſhip which had ſailed along the coaſt during the courſe of the month, had ſuffered ſo much by a tempeſt, that they were forced to fire ſeveral guns for aſſiſtance, in the ſight of the ſettlement of Angontzi; but that the hard weather having driven her off the coaſt, they had loſt ſight of her; and ſhe had been ſince ſeen from Andrava, at the diſtance of two leagues from the ſhore, on fire. No more than ſeven people were ſaved in the boat, which came on ſhore at Loquez. The following day I ſent an order to the Sieur Mayeur, interpreter, (who

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was not more than two days journey diſtance from the place where theſe unfortunate people had landed) to give them aſſiſtance, and afford them the means of coming to the chief ſettlement.

On the 19th, ſeveral blacks from the Weſtern coaſt informed me, that the chiefs of the Seclaves had held a meeting, in which they had determined to make war upon the French, and to engage all the people of the Eaſt in their intereſts; in conſequence of which, they had ſent ſeveral chiefs into the different provinces, to perſuade them to unite againſt the eſtabliſhment. Theſe reports demanded all my attention. I likewiſe ſent ſpies on my part to inquire into the truth, in order that I might have time to make preparations, in caſe the Seclaves ſhould ſucceed, in forming their league with the people of the Eaſt coaſt; and they were particularly directed to aſcertain, whether they propoſed to fall upon us in the bad ſeaſon, which would have greatly embarraſſed me.

On the 20th, I ſent my ſpies with articles of trade to purchaſe cattle. Under this pretence, they were to obtain information of the manœuvres of the Seclaves, and the intentions of the different nations.

On the 21ſt, the Sambarive chiefs aſſembled at the ſettlement in great conſternation, at the news of the war, which the Seclaves had declared againſt the eſtabliſhment. They demanded why the ſuccours from France were ſo long delayed; and how I ſhould act, in caſe I ſhould be attacked by the Seclaves in the bad ſeaſon, before their arrival. They obſerved, likewiſe, that with my ſmall number of people, I could not make any reſiſtance againſt the enemy; and that they themſelves ſhould become their victims,

victims, as being the moſt faithful and zealous friends of the eſtabliſhment. To encourage them, and remove their apprehenſions, I replied, that I was aſhamed of the fear, which ſo brave a nation as themſelves had ſhewn on this occaſion; that the Sambarives ought to have a better opinion of my courage; and that I knew well what would be the propereſt mode of proceeding. My anſwers, however, did not ſatisfy them. They repeated their complaints, and ſaid, "You will abandon us. Your King has not ſent any more people to you. You are ready to quit us, and we alone ſhall be unfortunate, for having been your friends." The voice of the people and of the chiefs was the ſame. They requeſted me to take an oath that I would not abandon them. I gave ſeveral entertainments to the chiefs and people of the Sambarives, and neglected nothing to inſpire them with all the neceſſary confidence. But in my own mind, I had as much need of conſolation; for I found myſelf at the approach of the bad ſeaſon, without ſupplies, without troops, and in a word, entirely abandoned.

On the 14th of December, a periagua arrived from the North, which brought me a Malay woman, who alone had ſurvived the wreck of the Engliſh veſſel. She informed me, that the Engliſh veſſel had left Bombay with ſixteen guns and one hundred men, and that her cargo was compoſed of ſilk and other merchandize of India, with fire-arms and brandy; that after their departure from Bombay, they had put in at the iſland of Johanna; and, laſtly, that on their arrival on the coaſt of Madagaſcar, they had tried to take ſome of the natives to ſpeak with them, but had not ſucceeded, notwithſtanding

the repeated trips their boats had made on ſhore; at the approach of which, the natives of the country were always ſeen either armed to prevent their landing, or flying into the interior parts of the country; that, laſtly, the veſſel being overtaken by a tempeſt, was obliged to ſtand off the coaſt, and upon her having caught fire, the whole crew took to the boats to make for the ſhore; that out of three boats two were ſunk by the number of people who crouded into them, and the jolly-boat only reached the ſhore with ſeven perſons, including the Captain; that the Captain with ſix others were dead, and ſhe alone remained out of the ſhip.

On the 15th, my ſpies having returned, confirmed the report, that great preparations for war were making by the Seclaves againſt us, and that they waited only for the breaking up of the bad ſeaſon, to take the field to the number of thirty thouſand men; that they had ſent ſeveral emiſſaries into the different provinces to engage the chiefs on their ſide, but that they depended much more on their own forces, flattering themſelves that the French durſt not face them, and that during the time they ſhould keep them ſhut up in their forts, they ſhould be at liberty to reduce the provinces of their allies, who would be forced to follow their ſtandards. This information, though very diſagreeable, on account of the diſpoſition and ſituation of the eſtabliſhment, gave me ſome conſolation; becauſe I was aſſured, that the Seclaves would leave me in tranquillity during the whole of the bad ſeaſon, and that the ſupplies ſo long expected, would at length arrive.

On the 16th, I ſent ſeveral meſſengers both to the North and South of the iſland, to inform the chiefs of the movements

movements of the Seclaves; at the ſame time enjoining them, to hold themſelves in readineſs to join my forces at the firſt orders I ſhould give. I ſignified to them beſides, that all thoſe who ſhould receive the Seclaves among them, under any pretext whatever, would be conſidered as enemies of the eſtabliſhment.

On the 18th, I received information of the arrival of the chiefs of the Saphirobai and Antambour, who requeſted a meeting, and demanded peace.

On the 21ſt, the Saphirobai and Antambour chiefs were admitted into the Cabar. They repreſented to me, that the misfortunes and power of war, having diſpoſſeſſed them of their province, and being reduced to the vile and abject condition of vagabonds, who have no country, they had unanimouſly determined to ſurrender themſelves to my diſcretion; that they requeſted only a part of their province for cultivation, without pretending to the propriety, the right of which belonged to the Sambarives. They concluded by obſerving, that if they were to be unhappy, they intreated at leaſt, that they might be permitted to die in their own country. Being informed from my interpreters, of the ſincerity of their repentance, and the intereſts of the eſtabliſhment requiring, that the province ſhould be as fully peopled as poſſible, I pardoned them, and the chiefs entered into an oath of ſubmiſſion and fidelity.

On the 24th, a ſignal was made on the mountain, that a two-maſted veſſel was in ſight.

On the 26th, the veſſel anchored near the iſle Aiguillon, about noon, and the Chevalier de Sanglier, Captain,

whom I had ſent to the iſle of France, being come on ſhore, preſented to me four recruits he had raiſed, which compoſed the ſuccour the iſle of France ſent me. I employed the whole day in reading my packets, in hopes of finding ſome order or letter from the Miniſter; but I found nothing but the railleries which the letters of Meſſrs. de Ternay and Maillart were filled with. Mr. de Sanglier informed me, that ſeveral ſuits at law were carrying on againſt me in the iſle of France; and, laſtly, that every outrage, calumny, and impoſture, was uſed to overwhelm me. I here paſs them over in ſilence, as they form no part of my operations.

On the 27th, the four perſons whom Mr. de Ternay forwarded to me to be employed as volunteers of honour, were preſented to me. This commander pretended to ſerve the ſtate, by ſending men to me whoſe paſt conduct had conſiſted of highly reprehenſible irregularities, and unnatural crimes. I do not here mention their names on account of their families; but I do not think they eſcaped at Madagaſcar. This iſland is a true touchſtone for the conduct of men. I received information of the death of his Majeſty, Louis XV. of happy memory, and the joyful acceſſion of his Majeſty Louis XVI. to the throne. I likewiſe underſtood that the Miniſtry was changed; and I was apprehenſive that for this reaſon my ſupplies would be retarded, and the plan of my operations might probably be changed. In a word, all theſe circumſtances oppoſed my progreſs. I had no other dependance than patience and firmneſs, and the hope that the veil which covered the future, would at laſt fall.

January

January the 1ſt, 1776. I was buſied in adjuſting the accounts of my troops, and thoſe of the general ſtorehouſe, which I diſcharged out of my own purſe.

On the 10th, his Majeſty's packet le Dauphin, commanded by Enſign Tromelin, left the iſle of France to go to the Secheyles iſlands, and put in at the ſettlement for proviſions, which I cauſed to be delivered to them.

On the 11th, his Majeſty's brig le Coureur, which I had ſent to Mozambique arrived. The Captain of this veſſel informed me, that he had been forced to anchor at the iſle of France, and that he could purchaſe but very few ſlaves. This information aſtoniſhed me, as the articles of trade with which we had been ſupplied from the general ſtorehouſe, had been very conſiderable. I therefore ſent an officer on board to examine the officers and crew, reſpecting the trade at Mozambique; and I went on board myſelf to aſſiſt in the examination. In this way I learned, that the Captain had ſold forty-two blacks at the iſle of France, which were the produce of his cargo, and the rice. I therefore cauſed him to be put under confinement on board the veſſel. Three men from the iſle of France were ſent on ſhore, one of whom called himſelf a taylor, the other a cabinet-maker, and the third a writer. They were all three ſick, and had been taken out of the hoſpital, doubtleſs with a view to augment the number of the dead at Madagaſcar.

On the 12th, I received advice that the Rohandrian Cunifaloues was on his way to put himſelf under the protection of the eſtabliſhment, in order to reſiſt the Seclaves, who threatened him, and ſeveral parties of whom had already ſet whole villages in flames upon our frontiers.

On the 13th, two Sambarive chiefs, who were ſtrongly attached to my perſon, informed me, that the King of the Seclaves had ſent a ſecret meſſenger to Hiavi, King and Chief of Foul Point, to engage him to act againſt the intereſts of the eſtabliſhment; and that Hiavi had held a meeting on this buſineſs, in which the envoys of the Seclaves had propoſed to Hiavi, to ſupport him in the ſovereignty over the whole Eaſt coaſt, on condition that he ſhould make war on the eſtabliſhment. But that Hiavi would not conſent to make war upon the white men; becauſe he ſaid, it was impoſſible for the King to reſiſt the French, whoſe Fangafoudi, or ſorcerers, were ſtronger than thoſe of the blacks; and that moreover the Baron, having a knowledge of the ſtars, knew every thing which was contrived againſt him; and that he (Hiavi) having engaged by oath to be faithful to the eſtabliſhment, durſt not make any attempt againſt it, as he was ſure to die immediately, in caſe he ſhould break his oath.

On the 14th, were in the midſt of the bad ſeaſon. If it ſhould weaken us, ſaid I to myſelf, and the ſupplies be ſtill detained, I may ſay with Virgil, *Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves.*

I received information that Hiavi, notwithſtanding his anſwer to the Seclaves, was inclined to their ſide, and that he had furniſhed them with arms and ammunition. This conduct induced me to depreſs his authority, which was eaſy to be done, by aſſuring the Mulatta chiefs, who were deſcended from Europeans, that the alliance of Hiavi with the Seclaves, would reduce them to ſervitude; and that when they were reduced to the obedience of Hiavi, they would ſoon be confounded with his ſlaves. Their proud ſpi-

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it would have eagerly ſeized the inſtant to withdraw themſelves from the ſubjection to Hiavi, by attaching themſelves entirely to the eſtabliſhment; but I preferred gentle methods to preſerve peace and tranquillity along the Eaſt coaſt.

From the 15th to the 20th, I held different Cabars, and ſent ſeveral emiſſaries to obſerve the motions of the enemy.

On the 21ſt, the new dwelling for the Governor was finiſhed, and I went to reſide there with the more ſatisfaction, as I had long been very inconveniently lodged, and had felt the conſequences in the effect it had on my health.

On the 22d, the Sambarive chiefs informed me, that the Seclaves had invited them to join them againſt the whites; but that their nation had anſwered, by ſending them powder, ball, and gun flints (the ſignal of war), declaring at the ſame time, that the Sambarives had allied themſelves to me with ſincerity; that they conſidered my enemies as their enemies, and that they would not give the Seclaves the trouble of coming to them, becauſe they intended to meet them. I gave an entertainment to this brave nation.

On the 23d, I was informed by my interpreter, that the Sambarives had ſent ſeveral of their chiefs into different provinces, to engage the people to join them to make war on the Seclaves. This brave nation gave public notice, that all thoſe who did not join them ſhould be conſidered as their enemies, and that their troops ſhould carry flames and fire into their provinces. This mark of ſo eminent a degree of attachment affected me greatly, and I ardently wiſhed

wiſhed for an opportunity of convincing this good people of my affection.

On the 14th, I learned poſitively, that the Fariavas and the Betalimenes had recommenced the war againſt Hiavi, and that his own people mutinied againſt him, for having entered into an oath with the Seclaves. This news was ſoon followed by a demand on the part of Hiavi for aſſiſtance, which was what I expected.

On the 25th, the chiefs of the Antambours ſent me word that ſeveral chiefs of the Seclaves, eſtabliſhed upon their frontiers, had refuſed to take arms againſt the eſtabliſhment; and that to avoid the rage of their King, a party of them had taken refuge amongſt the Antambour, and others with Cunifaloues the chief, who had ſent me this information, and was himſelf coming.

On the 29th, Diafaick, chief of the Machineranon, and confidant of Hiavi, came to demand aſſiſtance againſt his enemies, at the ſame time that he complained that reports were current that I had abandoned Hiavi, for which reaſon it was abſolutely neceſſary that I ſhould declare in his favour, in order to appeaſe the troubles and revolts which had been excited among his own ſubjects. I replied, that Hiavi had brought himſelf into the difficulties he now experienced; that he had himſelf given reaſons for his enemies to declare againſt him a ſecond time, in conſequence of the league he had made with the Seclaves againſt the government; that his own proceeding had ſerved as a warning to the Betalimenes and Fariavas, with regard to their behaviour, from whom it was that I had received information of all the intrigues of Hiavi. The chief Fauna, confounded at my anſwer, threw himſelf at

my feet, begging pardon for Hiavi, and proteſting that he would recall his maſter to his duty. In my definitive anſwer, I inſiſted that Hiavi ſhould ſend his brother to me with five hundred armed men, with orders to march againſt the Seclaves, and ſhould publickly renounce the alliance of that nation. I promiſed, that in the mean time I would prevent his enemies from making any attempts againſt him, but that on the ſlighteſt appearance of refuſal on his part, I would openly join his opponents.

It cannot eaſily be imagined, with what precaution I found it neceſſary to act with regard to the inhabitants of this iſland. Revolutions are ſo ſudden, that to prevent them, I was forced to become an orator, to conform to the character of this nation. It was a very unhappy circumſtance that I was without forces; the ſmalleſt augmentation would have been ſufficient to have enabled me to have effected whatever revolutions I thought proper; but having no more than one hundred men, and thoſe exhauſted by fatigue, who could not be able to guard one hundred and eighty leagues of coaſt, which was the ſpace contained by our different ſettlements. It was impoſſible therefore to remove ſo many obſtacles as preſented themſelves, without employing ſtratagem or cabal; a ſituation very afflicting for a military man, when his operations can only be carried on in the cabinet in a tedious and diſgraceful way.

February the 1ſt, a ſignal was hung out at the mountain, that a ſhip was in ſight.

On the 2d, the ſignal ſtill appeared; but I diſcovered nothing but a ſmall veſſel, which ſeemed to be a banion, or the veſſel of ſome perſon, whoſe wretched fortune required

quired the aſſiſtance of piracy, or the employment of a ſpy.

On the 3d, the Antambour and Saphirobai chiefs came to declare to me, that being determined to give invariable proofs of their attachment to the eſtabliſhment, they requeſted me to accept fifteen hundred armed men of their nation, to be employed againſt the Seclaves. Good news, exclaimed I, the example of my brave Sambarives will invite the other nations to imitate them.

A private veſſel named the Lizard, anchored in the harbour, and the Captain, Mr. St. Etheard, made me an offer of his cargo on the King's account. It conſiſted of cloth, brandy, and ſugar.

On the 8th, I received poſitive information of the march of the Seclaves, who directed their courſe towards our frontiers.

Between the 9th and 15th, I viſited my poſts, and ſaw that the artillery was in a proper ſituation for ſervice.

My officers, being informed by the natives of the approach of the Seclaves, and perceiving their troops to be greatly weakened, were in no ſmall conſternation, and could not avoid repeating ſome of the circumſtances to me; becauſe as they ſaw me apparently at my eaſe, in ſuch a critical ſituation, they imagined that I was unacquainted with the proceedings of our enemies.

From the 17th to the 23d, I cleared the environs of fort Louis, in order to diſcover the approach of the enemy more readily; and I was particularly buſied in making fire balls, rockets, fuzees, and fire lances, in order to prevent the enemy from harraſſing us.

On

On the 23d, the chiefs of the province, Antivarai and Angontzi, came to offer me five hundred warriors. This news afforded me ſome ſmall comfort, and I began to collect myſelf againſt the unhappy events that threatened the eſtabliſhment. The greateſt part of the bad ſeaſon was now over, and our ſick were not ſo numerous as I expected.

The envoys of Lambouin, King of the North, arrived, and demanded an aſſembly. They declared on the part of their Prince, that he was already in the field to attack the Seclaves on his ſide, and waited only for my orders for that purpoſe. The deſire of this chief to eſtabliſh a conſtant trade with the ſettlement, in order to ſecure its protection, which was neceſſary to him againſt the Seclaves, and to preſerve his authority, could not fail of being productive of the greateſt advantage to the eſtabliſhment.

On the 2d, I was informed of the arrival of envoys from the chief Cunifaloues, who informed me of the approach of their chief, together with Rozai, couſin of the King of the Seclaves, who was driven by his relation out of his native country, and probably came to take advantage of the preſent circumſtances, and adapt them to his deſire of revenge. After having ſhewn every ſign of friendſhip to the envoys of the chief Cunifaloues, I ſent ſeveral ſpies to meet him, in order to obſerve his conduct, and prevent a ſurprize.

The chief Cunifaloues, poſſeſſor of the province of Santianak, had been tributary for the ſpace of eighteen years to the Seclaves, who often had ravaged his province, under the ſpecious pretence of collecting the tribute. I therefore had reaſon to think, that the motive of his journey

was founded on the hope of throwing off the ſubjection to the Seclaves, by the aſſiſtance of the eſtabliſhment. The coincidence of this chief in my views, promiſed greatly to diminiſh the forces of the Seclaves, becauſe his example would lead others. Rozai, the chief of the Seclaves, who came with him, is of the reigning family of that nation, of which the father of the preſent King uſurped the crown, after having rendered himſelf maſter of the country, by a ſudden revolt of all the inhabitants, and having, without compaſſion, reduced the ancient royal family to ſervitude. I was aſſured that Rozai had many partizans in the nation, who, if they ſaw him at the head of ſome forces, would join his party. All theſe circumſtances gave me reaſon to hope, that I might derive great advantages this year from a campaign, and I might have undoubtedly ſtruck a fine ſtroke, if the ſupplies had arrived. As the war I am about to deſcribe, relates to the country of the Seclaves, it may be proper to give a ſlight notion of that kingdom and nation.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE KINGDOM OF THE SECLAVES, CALLED BOYANA.

March, 1776. The kingdom of the Seclaves extends from the Bay of Maſſaheli, on the Weſt coaſt of Madagaſcar, lying between 44° 20′. and 42° longitude from Paris, and 14° and 16° South latitude, upon the ſame Weſtern coaſt of the iſland. Here it muſt be obſerved, that this kingdom is not to be confounded with the ancient country of the Seclaves, which extends much further to the Southward, and

and no longer depends upon the ſame chief. The authority of the firſt chief of the Seclaves, who from time immemorial has poſſeſſed the title of King, is deſpotic. His whole people are ſlaves, and the chiefs who govern the different provinces, are nominated by him. Their property and lives are in his hands. He always keeps an army of three thouſand warriors on foot. His authority which he often abuſes, renders him formidable to his unhappy people, who mortally hate him.

The Arabians of the iſlands Johanna, Comoro, and Mayotto, have eſtabliſhed a factory at Maronvai, the capital of the Seclaves, which is at all times ſupplied with effects and merchandizes, conſiſting of Surat cloth, combs, ſilver bracelets, gold buckles, razors, knives, glaſs beads, &c. in exchange for which they receive ſkins, incenſe, benjamin, amber, wax, and wood in planks. The facility which the King of the Seclaves finds in the commerce of the Arabians, and that which he has hitherto found in obtaining arms, gunpowder, and brandy, from private ſhips, which touch at Madagaſcar, and which he receives in payment of tribute from different provinces on the Eaſtern coaſt, renders him averſe to the eſtabliſhment of a direct trade with the French. It may likewiſe be true, that the Arabians, jealous of our rival commerce, may have inſpired him with ſentiments contrary to the intereſts of the eſtabliſhment. But, as ſince my arrival, all the provinces of the Eaſt coaſt have ſhaken off their yoke, and no longer ſupply them with arms and warlike ſtores, the Seclaves cannot but be quickly reduced.

The country of the Seclaves enjoys a very wholeſome air. It is flat, has few woods, and is watered with an infinity of fine rivers, and abounds with immenſe plains, inhabited by thouſands of wild oxen, which belong to any one who can take them. The King of the Seclaves might raiſe an army of thirty thouſand men, if he poſſeſſed the affections of his people; but upon the leaſt appearance of war, it is uſual for them to fly into the mountains, towards the Eaſtern coaſt. From theſe emigrations ſeveral different nations have been formed. Since my arrival in this iſland, I have always maintained detachments, either in the country of the Seclaves, or on its frontiers; and they have experienced none of thoſe diſorders which prevail near the ſea coaſt to the Eaſtward. For this reaſon I am convinced, that the Weſtern coaſt would be more favourable to the Europeans. Such an advantage, added to that of poſſeſſing ſeveral excellent harbours, by which a communication might be formed with the coaſt of Africa, renders it highly deſerving of the utmoſt exertions of a Governor eſtabliſhed at this place, to ſecure this country; for which purpoſe nothing more is neceſſary than to engage the whole of the Eaſtern coaſt in his intereſt againſt the Seclaves. The happieſt occaſion now preſented itſelf; for the King of the Seclaves, having declared war againſt the eſtabliſhment, and its allies, it became unneceſſary to confine ourſelves to defenſive operations. But the weakneſs and extreme wants of my troops, tended but too much to check my ardour.

A courier from Foul Point brought me the good news, that Hiavi had expreſſed the moſt ſincere repentance at having

having entered into an oath with the Seclaves; and that in order to repair his fault, he had ſent twelve hundred warriors to my aſſiſtance.

The chief Cunifaloues at length arrived on the 6th, I ordered the meeting to be held on the 8th, to which I invited the chiefs of the Sambarives, Saphirobai, Antambours, Antavacas, and Antavoliſbei. When the aſſembly met Cunifaloues, addreſſed me as follows: I write down the proper words of the diſcourſe of the blacks, in order that thoſe who ſucceed me might be familiarized with their expreſſion. "I Cunifaloues, the unfortunate chief of the noble race of Santianak, being ſubjected by the laws of war to the Seclaves, come to render what I owe to the great warrior and great chief of the white men, whoſe name be bleſſed, and arm ſupported by the force of God. Being aſſured that the reports which were ſpread of the war, which the Seclaves propoſed to make againſt thee were true, I have haſtened to offer thee my arm with thoſe of my people. Diſpoſe of our goods at thy pleaſure. Thy will ſhall ever be mine, and that of my children. Deign to receive our oath, to aſſure thee that Cunifaloues acknowledges no other maſter but thyſelf."

This harangue was ſucceeded by a ſhout of joy, which the followers of this chief, conſiſting of about three hundred warriors, repeated ſeveral times. After which I made the following anſwer: "Thy reputation, my friend, and thy misfortunes, have long ſince aſſured thee of my protection. I am unacquainted with none of thy pretenſions, and the juſt vengeance which thou entertaineſt againſt the uſurper of the Seclaves; and thou mayeſt be aſſured that my arm ſhall ſupport thine. But with regard to the ſubmiſſion

miſſion thou haſt made to me, I ſay that thou art in an error. Know then that it is not conformable to my principles, to reduce the brave nations of Madagaſcar to ſervitude. I demand only thy friendſhip towards myſelf; but I require thy attachment to the union which exiſts at this day, between the nations whoſe deputies are here aſſembled. My only intention is to inform thee of our intereſts; to explain the advantages of commerce, and of a well-eſtabliſhed government, and to communicate light which may lead to happineſs. If thou art reſolved to unite in our common intereſts, thou wilt make an oath of fidelity to the union, and receive orders from my mouth, or the mouth of thoſe who may ſucceed me."

The chief had ſcarcely heard my anſwer, before he demanded to enter into the oath of fidelity, obliging himſelf to pay to the eſtabliſhment the ſame tribute which he had paid to the Seclaves, and offering one thouſand warriors of his nation to be directed by my orders, according to circumſtances. Upon his declaration, I proceeded to the ceremony of the oath, which was performed with all the decency imaginable. It was ſcarcely ended before Rozai, the chief of the Seclaves, who arrived with Cunifaloues, directed a ſecond ſpeech to me as follows: "I, Rozai, the unfortunate prince of Boyana, ſeeking amongſt ſtrangers a ſupport againſt the injuſtice of the uſurper of my kingdom, who, not content with having deprived me of my country, retains my wives and children in ſlavery, throw myſelf at thy knees for protection. The people ſay of thee, that thou calleſt thyſelf the father of the unhappy: Reject not then the prayer of a prince who reclaims thy aſſiſtance. As a proof of my ſubmiſſion, thou ſhalt re-

ceive my oath, and mayeſt depend on me from henceforth among the number of thy faithful friends."

The following was my anſwer: "I grant to the prince Rozai, who reclaims the protection of the eſtabliſhment, and that of the united nations, the conſtant and permanent ſupport of our arms, with ſo much the greater ſatisfaction, as his misfortunes plead in his favour; a plea which at all times has found a ſupport againſt injuſtice and oppreſſion. In the mean time, the prince Rozai may aſſure himſelf of our protection by oath."

After having thus ſatisfied the unfortunate chief, I addreſſed myſelf to him and the chief Cunifaloues, adviſing them to reflect well on what they had done, by connecting themſelves under oath to the intereſts of the eſtabliſhment, whoſe protection they had thereby ſecured as long as they ſhould continue faithful to their engagements: But that, if they ſhould have the misfortune to break their oaths, it would be no longer in my power to prevent the unhappy conſequences which might reſult to them, their families, and ſubjects.

On the 9th, 10th, and 11th, the chiefs of the Eaſtern coaſt, gave an entertainment to Cunifaloues and Rozai. My brave Sambarives particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves. The chiefs, Cunifaloues and Rozai, afterwards required to be diſmiſſed in order to take the field againſt the Seclaves. They informed me likewiſe, that they ſhould loſe no time in ſending emiſſaries into all the different provinces which were ſubject to the Seclaves, to engage them to join the part of Rozai, and demanded favour and protection for thoſe who ſhould enter into their league.

On

On the 12th, the chief Lambarault arrived with twelve armed boats and two hundred warriors. He informed me, that he came to the aſſiſtance of the eſtabliſhment; that being the ſon of a white man, he was deſirous of being one of the firſt in the combat; and that ſeveral of his ſubjects, who had returned from the country of the Seclaves, had reported to him, that the enemy was no more than five days march from our frontiers; for which reaſon, if I would accept his aſſiſtance, he would go forth to reconnoitre them. I received this chief in a friendly manner, but for ſeveral reaſons I kept him near me.

On the 13th, my interpreter informed me, that his people had reported, that the chiefs of the different provinces propoſed to ſend deputies to me to inquire, whether my intention was to remain ſhut up till the arrival of the Seclaves, or whether I was afraid to go forth to meet them? They informed me likewiſe, that all the chiefs had the moſt unbounded confidence in me; but that they were apprehenſive that by remaining ſimply on the defenſive, I ſhould ſacrifice their provinces to the outrages of the Seclaves. This report determined me to avail myſelf of the ſtate of affairs, to engage all the coaſt in my intereſt, whoſe chiefs would join me with ſo much the greater readineſs in the field, as by fighting the Seclaves, their poſſeſſions would be defended from their ravages.

Being thus at length engaged again, in an important affair, which required a deciſion, whether without ſupport or aſſiſtance from the Europeans, with a handful of men, I ſhould undertake an operation of the greateſt conſequence. Fortunately, however, the unhealthy ſeaſon

was

was over, and my troops were in ſufficient health to make up by their courage, for the unfortunate poſition they were in.

On the 14th, the Sambarive chiefs waited upon me, and preſented to me ſeveral deputies of the different provinces, which their nation had ſent to inform me, that they were all ready to take the field, and waited only for my naming the day on which they were to join me. Upon which I replied, that having forces more than ſufficient about me to prevent the Seclaves from continuing their hoſtilities upon my frontiers, I had at firſt reſolved not to engage my allies to follow me, leaſt the cultivation of their lands might be interrupted. But that being unable any longer to reſiſt their preſſing inſtances and voluntary offers, I ſhould accept their aſſiſtance to partake with them the glory of having puniſhed the Seclaves; and that in conſequence I ſhould diſpatch my couriers, to inform the whole coaſt of my reſolutions to take the field at the end of the following month; to march directly to the enemy, and force them to come to battle.

I had hardly concluded my anſwer, when they all with one voice cried out, "The Seclaves ſhall be vanquiſhed, and become our ſlaves." The reſt of the day was conſumed in dancing and war ſongs. For my own part, I was rather uneaſy. I found myſelf on the point of becoming engaged in a ſerious affair, without the aſſiſtance or orders of the Court, which might at that moment be ready to decide upon giving up the eſtabliſhment, and recalling my troops, in conſequence of the falſe reports which the chiefs of the iſle of France had made. Three years had

already paſt without my having received the ſmalleſt order relative to my ſervice.

On the 15th, after many deliberations, I at laſt determined to declare war againſt the Seclaves; and to order all the chiefs to repair to the ſtandard at the end of April, with their principal warriors.

Not having a ſufficient number of troops to ſerve the field pieces, I began to inſtruct the Mozambique ſlaves in working them.

On the 20th, I commanded all my officers to aſſemble at fort Louis, to hold a council on the firſt of April, in order that I might have no reaſon to reproach myſelf in an enterprize of ſuch delicacy, the engaging in which might be imputed to me as a fault by my adverſaries. The Mozambiques made great progreſs in this exerciſe, and began to be uſed to the noiſe, as well as the manœuvres of the guns. In order that the pieces might be the better ſerved, I appointed a cannonier to each, from among my volunteers, with one workman and four Mozambiques. I had nine pieces ready for ſervice, two of which carried a pound ball. I had great reaſon to be ſatisfied with the progreſs of the Mozambiques, for on the 25th, they worked the guns very well, without any aſſiſtance or command from the Europeans.

On the 27th, my ſpies having returned from the Seclaves, reported, that the enemy had halted in the province of Antanquins, to wait for the junction of a ſtrong party; that their deſign was to fall directly on the eſtabliſhment, and in the mean time to ravage the frontiers, whoſe inhabitants had taken refuge in the woods, and waited only for our arrival to join us.

On

On the 1ſt of April, a general aſſembly of the corps was held, in which the annexed reſult was determined on (LXX); in which it was concluded, that the troops ſhould be formed into two diviſions, one under the order of the Chevalier de Sanglier, Captain of the corps, and Commander in my abſence, which ſhould be appointed to guard our poſts at Louiſbourg, fort St. John, and fort Auguſtus; while the other ſhould immediately take the field under my orders, and carry the war to the frontiers of the Seclaves, in order to check them, until ſupplies or the orders which I expected, might arrive. Immediately after this deciſion of council, I diſplayed the red flag as the ſignal of war well known in this iſland.

On the 2d, I was buſied in exerciſing my troops. The artillery was well ſerved, and there were very few of my volunteers on whom I could not depend for bringing down his man at the diſtance of two hundred paces, which aſſured me that I ſhould give a good account of my enemies; but, in order that the campaign might not be carried on in a confuſed manner, I appointed the following order, in which is included the whole force under my command, conſiſting of four thouſand one hundred and thirteen men, in three diviſions, which I called the forces of the eſtabliſhment.

The Left.		*The Centre.*		*The Right.*	
Commander.		Commander.		Commander.	
Mr. le Cerf, Captain	1	Baron de Benyowſky	1	De Melandre, Captain	1
—— Corbi, Lieutenant	1	Chev. de la Tour, Lieut.	1	De la Bouillage, Lieut.	1
Le Maitre, Interpreter	1	Evali, Enſign	1	Diard, Interpreter	1
D'Ecole, Interpreter	1	Mayeur, Interpreter	1	Volunteers	72
Volunteers	112	Volunteers	64	Artillery, three pieces, Served by	
Artillery, three Pieces, Served by		Artillery, three pieces, Served by		M. de la Min.	1
Cannoniers	3	Cannoniers	4	Cannoniers	2
Mozambique Commanders	2	Mozambique Commanders	2	Mozambique Commanders	2
Mozambique Slaves	6	Mozambique Slaves	6	Mozambique Slaves	6
Malgagos Commanders	2	Malgagos Commanders	2	Malgagos Commanders	2
Malgagos Warriors	1000	Malgagos Warriors	1800	Malgagos Warriors	1000
	1129		1822		1088

In the Hoſpital Service.

Popengui, Surgeon-Major	1
His Aide Major	1
Mozambique Slaves	12
Total of the Diviſions	4113 Men.

Such were the forces with which I proceeded to take the field; but it muſt be obſerved, that my three diviſions were to be reinforced with the troops our allies were obliged to furniſh; that is to ſay, for the right diviſion, three thouſand ſix hundred natives; for the centre, five thouſand; for the left, three thouſand ſix hundred; which, on the whole, amounted to not leſs than ſixteen thouſand three hundred and thirteen men.

On the 3d, I was buſied in drawing out orders for Mr. de Sanglier, Commander in my abſence, in order that he might conform to my intentions in every thing which related to the ſecurity of the poſts entruſted to his care. I left with him ſeventy-ſix white men, with four officers; one hundred and twenty Mozambiques, and ſix hundred and eighty Malgagos, which was a ſufficient number to defend the poſts under his command.

On the 4th, I eſtabliſhed a camp in the plain, at the diſtance of one league from Louiſbourg, with a view to habituate my troops to obedience of orders. From this place it was, that I this day ſent my orders to the chiefs of our allies, to repair at the end of the month to Hirbay, near Mananhar, at the diſtance of fifteen leagues from the plain, where I then was. I made choice of this place of rendezvous on account of the facility of procuring ſubſiſtence for ſixteen thouſand men, whoſe ſupplies would have exhauſted the magazines of the eſtabliſhment.

On the 10th, my envoys returned, and aſſured me that all the chiefs were ready to march, and would be at Hirbay before me. On the ſame day the Sambarives gave a great feſtival of war, according to the cuſtom of the

country. The Saphirobai did the ſame, and nothing was ſeen but fires through the whole extent of the coaſt.

On the 11th, I made up my packets for the Miniſter, to whom I gave an account of my operations.

From the 12th to the 15th, I was employed in making my final viſits to the poſts.

On the 16th, being deſirous of accelerating my march as much as poſſible, I cauſed all the boats to be repaired for the tranſport of the artillery and ammunition. My allies had engaged to ſend ſixty other boats for the tranſport of my troops; ſo that I had reaſon to hope that I might ſet ſail on the 30th, and arrive at Hirbay on the 2d of May, from which place I had determined to depart on the 4th, with a view to reach the other ſide of the mountains on the 8th or 9th, and offer battle to the enemy on the 10th or 11th. The reſt of the campaign would depend on their deciſion, or rather on the orders of the Court, which I waited for, and the uncertain tenor of which obliged me not to proceed too far in the preſent juncture.

On the 18th, being the eve of my departure, and my determination being made, nothing remained but to follow it. Adieu then to reflections; for when a military adventure is once began, it muſt be followed with ſpirit.

This day Mulem, the brother of Hiavi, arrived, with twelve hundred and fifty warriors, to remain ſubject to my orders; theſe were intended to form my guard, and Hiavi had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſelecting young men, among whom there was not one under five feet eight inches in height.

On

On the 20th, two couriers from the North informed me, that the chiefs of the provinces of Antimananhar, Angontzi, and Antiamak, were already on their march with three thouſand warriors, one half of whom were coming by land, and the other half in boats. They aſſured me likewiſe, that theſe chiefs had made an oath not to quit my colours, until Cimanour, King of the Seclaves, was made priſoner of war. D'Ecole, my interpreter, was at the head of this army.

The preparations for the campaign, and the movements I was obliged to make, will not permit me to continue my memoir regularly from day to day, I ſhall therefore reſume it after my return.

History of the War against the Seclaves.

I ſet ſail with my little ſquadron, compoſed of one hundred and ninety-three boats of the country, on the 30th of April, and ſtopped at the iſle d'Aiguillon, where I inſpected the loading, and rectified the conſiderable inequalities I found in the ſeveral boats.

May the 1ſt, 1776. We ſet ſail for Manambia, diſtant ſeven leagues from Louiſbourg, where I found a very agreeable plain to pitch my camp. In the evening of the ſame day, I received a viſit from the chiefs of the place. The principal chief, named Tacalounin, preſented me with three hundred warriors to follow me, and alſo with ſix boats loaded with proviſions, and thirty oxen.

May the 2d. I raiſed my camp, and ſailed for Tanſon, where, on my arrival in the evening, I found the troop

of Tacalounins already encamped, and ſupplied with proviſions and cattle. At the cloſe of the night the chiefs of this country came to ſalute me; they brought us ten boats, loaded with proviſions, and drink made of honey and melaſſes, with three hundred young men for the military ſervice.

On the 3d, juſt as I was embarking to continue my journey, I received envoys from Cunifaloues, who informed me, that there were ſeveral parties of the Seclaves about, who only waited for a favourable inſtant to ſurprize me. They aſſured me likewiſe, that their chiefs were already in the field, but that they were greatly apprehenſive that the Seclaves, whoſe forces were much ſuperior to theirs, would attack them with advantage before my arrival. After I had heard the report of theſe envoys, I ordered them to follow me; and to prevent my troop of blacks, who conveyed our proviſion, from being ſurprized in ſome of the defiles, I ordered Mr. de Malendre, Captain and Commander of the right diviſion, to protect them with his troop.

After this precaution I embarked, and continued my route towards Hirbay; but the wind blowing ſtrong a-head, forced me to anchor at Fontzimarou. One of my boats, loaded with artillery, ſtruck on a rock and ſunk; another was bulged, and ſeveral others run aground, which obliged me to leave the left diviſion behind, to recover the cannon and their carriages, and bring them to Hirbay. The chiefs of the place ſupplied me with divers, and boats to conduct my diviſion to the rendezvous, where we arrived in ſafety on the 4th. But I had ſcarcely time to pitch my camp, before ſeveral blacks informed me, that the

the diviſion commanded by Mr. Malendre, had been attacked by the Seclaves. In conſequence of this news, I detached twelve boats, with a part of my troop and Malgagos, to their aſſiſtance. They ſoon returned with the information, that they had diſcovered the diviſion on its march, at a ſmall diſtance from us, and that the troops appeared undiſturbed. Theſe laſt arrived likewiſe about midnight, ſafe and ſound; and their Commander informed me, that he had indeed been attacked by the Seclaves in a defile; but that the enemy had always kept at a very great diſtance firing at his party, though their ſhot could not reach him; and that he, perceiving that to be the caſe, had preferred marching ſtrait to me, inſtead of ſtopping to cauſe any embarraſſment.

On the 5th, my left diviſion at laſt arrived, and all my people were then together. The number of warriors which the chiefs had promiſed me, increaſed every day, and the continual conſumption of proviſions becoming an object of great conſequence, obliged me to quicken my operations.

On the 7th, I ſent back the envoys of Cuniſaloues, to inform him of my march; and on the ſame day I received information, from a party whom I had ſent upon the ſcout, that the Seclaves had diſappeared, and had withdrawn towards the frontier of the province of Antonguin.

Upon this report, I ſent my right diviſion to clear the paſſage of the mountains, and ſoon afterwards followed them with my whole army. With much fatigue and difficulty, we paſſed the mountains Vohibey. Our pieces of artillery, mounted on carriages, were very ill calculated for ſervice in ſuch mountainous and irregular countries as this.

I ſhould have been much better ſatisfied, if they had been mounted on ſwivels, after the manner of pateraroes.

After I had paſſed the mountains, I encamped near a river called Mananhar, where I was joined by the chiefs Antimogols, Antivoieſon, Antivohibey, and the Sambarives. Their number amounted to near four thouſand men, well armed.

In this place I reſted my troops two days; and after having eſtabliſhed a ſtore of proviſions in the place, and appointed a party of my left diviſion for a guard, I raiſed my camp, and marched in three columns, through a wood of ſix leagues extent from Eaſt to Weſt. When I came out of the wood, I diſcovered the camp of my firſt diviſion, and three other camps of the Seclaves poſted oppoſite them. But as all my people were fatigued, I determined to remain concealed in the ſkirts of the wood, that I might not be diſcovered by the enemy, whom I propoſed to attack as ſoon as my army had taken ſome repoſe. To this effect, I acquainted the Commander of the firſt diviſion with my intention, in order that he might not be alarmed at a briſk attack on my part.

At three in the morning, I eſtabliſhed a rear guard for the ſecurity of our equipage, and marched directly to the firſt camp of the enemy. At ſun riſe, I was within cannon ſhot of them. At my approach, they arranged themſelves in ſeveral diviſions at the head of their camp, where they appeared diſpoſed to receive us, and immediately began to fire. The black troops of our allies, notwithſtanding my prohibition, anſwered their fire, which obliged me to bring forward my cannon. Twenty ſhot from theſe put

the enemy to flight, and cauſed them to abandon their firſt camp, which I paſſed without ſtopping, and proceeded to the ſecond, which I found in the hands of my firſt diviſion.

The enemy perceiving their two camps deſtroyed, quitted the third of themſelves, which was ſoon conſumed by the flames. This affair coſt the Seclaves eighty men killed, and fifty wounded, who were made priſoners, while none of my party were hurt, excepting a few natives, who were wounded. The allied chiefs, encouraged by this ſucceſs, demanded permiſſion to chace the enemy; and I agreed to their requeſt with great willingneſs, as their Cabars or aſſemblies had become very chargeable.

After the departure of the blacks, I advanced my camp into an agreeable plain, filled with orange trees, banana trees, and cardamon plants.

On the 14th, the chief Cunifaloues joined me with fifteen hundred warriors. He told me that the Seclaves, who had fled, had ſpread a report every where, that it was not the white men who had vanquiſhed them, but devils which were mixed among them, and had vomited dreadful flames upon their army.

On the 17th, ſeveral parties of the Seclaves arrived, and intreated forgiveneſs; at the ſame time that they begged that I would come into their province to defend them from the ravages of my black allies.

On the 18th, I diſpatched Mr. de Malendre to Antonguin, in order to reſtrain the allied chiefs within the limits of diſcipline; and the ſame evening I raiſed my camp to proceed in perſon to the province of Antonguin.

On the 19th, I came in ſight of a village of the Antongueze, compoſed of about five hundred houſes well palliſaded, and defended by a ditch. Beyond the village, I diſcovered ſix camps, which the chiefs of our allies had eſtabliſhed. For my part, I rather choſe to form my camp on the ſide where I was, in order to enjoy a ſtate of tranquillity, which muſt be entirely renounced on mixing with the natives.

On the 20th, all the chiefs of my party waited upon me to congratulate me, and to give me a pompous account of their warlike exploits. They aſſured me, that the Seclaves, not thinking proper to rally upon their frontiers, had fled as far as the Weſtern coaſt of the iſland.

On the 22d, the chief of Antonguin, named Tihenbato, came to my camp in perſon, having his head and beard ſhaved in token of ſubmiſſion. He intreated forgiveneſs for having followed the Seclaves, and immediately entered into the oath of fidelity, acknowledging his province to be conquered: at the ſame time that he requeſted it ſhould be entruſted to him on condition of his paying an annual tribute. It was from this chief that I obtained more particular information concerning the Seclaves, which convinced me that the King of that nation was cured of the deſire of making war upon the Europeans. He alſo informed me, that the King of the Seclaves had ſent envoys to Hiavi, to requeſt his interceſſion with me to procure peace at any rate.

Some days afterwards I received envoys from the King of the Seclaves, who propoſed a treaty of peace; but as I did not think proper to conſent, I diſmiſſed them with the ſimple

ſimple anſwer, that the chiefs of the Seclaves ought not to aſk for peace, but pardon; that I propoſed to ſtay in the province to allow them time to make their determination, and that their King ought not to heſitate in ſubmitting himſelf to the laws eſtabliſhed among the chiefs of the Eaſtern coaſt.

After the departure of theſe envoys, I remained encamped on the ſpot, until the end of the month; during which time I ſent ſeveral officers to make diſcoveries in the country. Their reports convinced me more and more of the expediency of forming an eſtabliſhment in this charming, rich and agreeable country; but being without forces and ſupplies, I had no power to act.

June the 1ſt, 1776. I received advice from M. le Cerf, Commander of the left diviſion, that certain blacks who came from Louiſbourg, had aſſured him, that they ſaw two ſhips enter the harbour. This news gave me great encouragement.

On the 5th, the long expected courier at laſt arrived with packets from the Court, in which I learned with inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, that the Miniſter had ſent from France his Majeſty's veſſel la Sirenne, with ammunition, proviſions and money for trade; and that this ſupply would ſoon be followed by others of greater importance. But alas, my joy was of ſhort duration; for on the other hand, I learned by the diſpatches from the iſle of France, that the corvette was loſt to the Southward of fort Dauphin, and conſequently, that I could expect no ſupplies. And to crown the whole, the Miniſter, in a private letter, informed me, that his Majeſty had reſerved the communication of his intentions with regard to Madagaſcar, until the end of

the year; for which reaſon I muſt confine my operations to the preſervation of the poſts, &c.

All theſe events tended only to encreaſe my ſolicitude, and more eſpecially, as my preſence was become neceſſary at Louiſbourg, I found myſelf forced to ſuſpend my military operations. I therefore aſſembled my officers, in order to come to a final deciſion reſpecting the ſteps proper to be taken in our preſent ſituation.

On the 6th, I held a council, and conformably to its deciſion, I determined to return to Louiſbourg, leaving my troops under the orders of Mr. de Malendre, with all our black allies, whom I had perſuaded to remain ſatisfied with the advantages and the victory gained over our enemies. The chiefs Cunifaloues and Rozai, alone were diſcontented, becauſe they feared the reſentment of the Seclaves; but I encouraged them, by a promiſe under oath, to come to their aſſiſtance as ſoon as ever I ſhould hear that the Seclaves marched againſt them. Cunifaloues was at laſt ſatisfied with my promiſe; but the unfortunate prince Rozai was inconſolable, and declared that he would quit me no more, becauſe as he had once had recourſe to me, all his hopes depended on the alliance of the Europeans. As I ſaw this chief was ſo greatly oppreſſed with his misfortunes, I promiſed to ſend to the Seclaves to reclaim his wives, his children, and all his family; and aſſured him, that he might depend on receiving ſpeedy ſatisfaction in this reſpect. This aſſurance ſet his mind at eaſe.

On the 7th, I diſtributed preſents to the chiefs, and likewiſe divided the captures we had made; and after having ſecured the ſubmiſſion of the province of Antonguin, I departed on my way to Louiſbourg.

On

On the 8th, at the cloſe of day, I began my march, and on the 12th, I arrived at Louiſbourg, where my time was intirely taken up in preparing my diſpatches for the Miniſter, excepting only that I was occaſionally interrupted by the feſtivals which the chiefs gave to their people, in celebration of our victory over the enemy.

On the 21ſt, his Majeſty's corvette the Iphigenia, ſet ſail on her return to the iſle of France.

On the 26th, a ſquadron of boats appeared in ſight, directing their courſe towards the harbour.

On the 22d, the ſquadron anchored in the harbour, and put my whole troop on ſhore with ſhouts of joy. The ſame evening the black troops landed, and eſtabliſhed their camp round Louiſbourg. Mr. de Malendre informed me, that after my departure he had received envoys from the Seclaves, who, in the name of their King, had propoſed preliminaries to a treaty of peace; but that as he had no authority from me to act in a buſineſs of that nature, he informed them that their King might be convinced by my ſudden departure, that I was not diſpoſed to carry on the war againſt them with efficacy; and that conſequently, he would do well to ſend envoys directly to me, to take advantage of my good diſpoſition towards them, and bring this affair to a termination, in which he would certainly ſucceed, if, as a mark of good faith, he ſhould ſend the family of the prince Rozai to me. My officer likewiſe informed me, that the envoys were very well ſatisfied with his anſwer, and immediately returned; and that the whole of the allied chiefs had exactly obeyed his commands. The reſt of the month was conſumed in entertainments,

which

which greatly diminiſhed the ſtock of liquor I had purchaſed, and imported from the iſle of France.

On the 1ſt of July, all the chiefs refuſed to depart for their provinces with their troops, and declared that they had reaſons for not leaving me at that moment.

From the 2d to the 9th, I was employed in viſiting the poſts, while my troops who had returned from the campaign, availed themſelves of the time I had granted to reſt themſelves after their fatigue.

On the 10th, I divided my troops to encreaſe the garriſons of my poſts, and cauſed the different materials for building to be collected.

On the 11th, Mr. Mayeur, my principal interpreter, having been charged by me to diſcover the reaſon why the chiefs had determined not to quit me, informed me, that Hiavi had received a letter from the iſle of France, by which he underſtood that I was to be relieved, and ſent to France to take my trial; and that the brother of Hiavi, having communicated this news to ſeveral of the chiefs, they had determined to oppoſe by force all thoſe who might attempt to carry ſuch a deſign into execution. This information, which convinced me of the ſincere attachment of the whole nation, afforded me ſome conſolation in my diſgrace; but was not ſufficient to diſpel my diſagreeable reflections.

On the 12th, ſeveral bodies of the natives from the Seclaves, requeſted permiſſion to eſtabliſh themſelves on the territory of the eſtabliſhment, ſubject to its regulations. I granted them the lands on the left branch of the river of Tingballe. The power of this province daily increaſing, I could

could eaſily perceive that it will hereafter poſſeſs one third of the population of the iſland.

From the 18th to the 19th I made an excurſion on the buſineſs of diſcovery, into the interior parts of the iſland to the northward, where I found ſeveral conſiderable rivers, between the chain of the mountains of Ramangaſi and Voliſbey, at the feet of which I found various minerals, and very fine rock chryſtals, ſome of which were coloured.

Auguſt 1, 1776. As the tranquillity of the country afforded me that repoſe which I had not experienced hitherto, I viſited the habitations and ſettlements, which I found in good order and cultivation. I therefore determined to allot lands to the individuals for the formation of villages. Several ſoldiers and others requeſted grants, which I accordingly made out, to the number of ſixty-four.

On the 3d, I aſſembled the chiefs, and repreſented to them, that their reſidence on the ſpot tended to exhauſt the country; and obſerved, that if they were abſolutely determined to reſide near me, I would adviſe them to ſend back their people into their provinces, as they would always have time to collect them together. In conſequence of this inſinuation, they demanded when I expected veſſels to arrive from Europe; and as I could not anſwer poſitively, they requeſted me not to make any propoſal to them for their departure, as, in this affair, they only followed the impulſe of their friendſhip for me, and were determined to periſh, rather than quit me.

On the 9th, I received news that a private ſhip was loſt to the northward; I therefore ſent his Majeſty's veſſel, the

Coureur, to collect the people, and bring them to Louiſbourg.

On the 14th, I was informed of the arrival of envoys from the Seclaves, who preſented to me the family of the Prince Rozai, as a proof of the good diſpoſition of that nation. Theſe envoys likewiſe preſented three hundred oxen, and ſixty ſlaves, in the name of their nation, and demanded that I would make oath not to enter into a war againſt them in future. I accepted the preſents, and received the family of Rozai with pleaſure; but the promiſe not to make war, being an engagement which related to the intereſts of the ſettlement, I replied, that I was ready to enter into ſuch an oath, provided the King of the Seclaves would likewiſe make the ſame, and give aſſurances that he would accede to the union of the chiefs and people of the eaſt coaſts, and would acknowledge himſelf a member of that union, and ſubject to its deciſions. I moreover inſiſted, that he ſhould permit the free entrance of all merchandize ſent from the eſtabliſhments into his country, for the purpoſe of carrying on an uninterrupted commerce with his people; and as the preſervation and ſafe keeping of merchandize required particular care, that he ſhould permit me to build in proper places, ſtore-houſes, which might ſerve as places of entertainment to my troops, and to travellers. The envoys replied, that they could make no ſtipulations in theſe reſpects, but that they would depart without delay, to inform their maſter of my intentions, in order that he might determine how to act. When theſe envoys were about to depart, I loaded them with preſents; and they promiſed me, upon their oath, to uſe every exertion to induce their maſter

maſter to accept my propoſitions, and attach himſelf entirely to me.

On the 16th, the Sieur Mayeur informed me that the chiefs Raoul, Manding, Raffangour, and Ramaraombe, demanded an audience, as deputies from their nations. This extraordinary communication, which had been hitherto unuſual, gave me ſome ſurprize: in conſequence of which I immediately granted the audience, and roſe up to meet them, as I ſuppoſed they were already on their way. But the Sieur Mayeur informed me, that the ſaid chiefs were ſtill in their camp, buſied in preparations to preſent themſelves in ceremony; and that he would go and acquaint them, with my permiſſion. Immediately after his departure, I invited ſeveral officers of the troops, and of the adminiſtration, to be preſent at my audience, which ſeemed likely to be productive of conſequences; for the manner in which the deputies were announced to me, convinced me that they had ſome affair of importance to propoſe, and in this I was not deceived. About ten, the guard of the fort diſcovered two bodies of armed troops, marching in columns, with drums beating and colours flying, and called out to arms; but the officer of the guard being in the ſecret, as I afterwards learned, did not oppoſe their march, but only challenged them, and ſent a report to me. I ſoon diſcovered the troop myſelf, which conſiſted of 1,200 men, with the chiefs and deputies at their head, preceded by the ſtandards of their provinces. On their arrival at the parade before the Governor's houſe, after they were drawn out, and had grounded their arms, the deputies advanced towards the hall, where they were received

and conducted to me by my officers. After the firſt ſalutation, I cauſed ſeats, which conſiſted of low chairs, uſed in this country on occaſions of ceremony, to be preſented to the chiefs; three ſeated themſelves, but the chief Raffangour remained ſtanding, and ſpoke the following words, which I here give accurately:

" Bleſſed be the day which brought thee into the world. " Bleſſed be thy parents, who have taken care of thy in- " fancy; and bleſſed be the hour in which thou didſt ſet " thy foot upon our iſland.

" The Malgagos chiefs and captains, whoſe hearts thou " haſt gained, who love thee, and are faithfully attached " to thee, have received information that the French King " intends to appoint another in thy place; and that he is " angry with thee becauſe thou haſt refuſed to deliver us " to his ſlavery: they have therefore met, and have held " cabars, to decide upon the manner in which they ſhould " act, if this ſhould prove true. Their love and their at- " tachment for thee, have obliged me, in this circum- " ſtance, to reveal to thee the ſecret of thy birth, and thy " rights over this immenſe country, all whoſe people adore " thee. Yes, I myſelf, Raffangour, reputed the ſole ſur- " vivor of the family of Ramini, I have renounced this " ſacred right, to declare thee the only true inheritor of " Ramini. The ſpirit of God, which reigns over our ca- " bars, cauſed all the chiefs and captains to make oath, " that they would acknowledge thee their Ampanſacabe; " that they would no more quit thee, but preſerve thy " perſon, at the price of their lives, againſt all the violence " of the French."

After

After this declaration he ſat down, and cauſed the chief Raoul to riſe, and deliver his meſſage, which was as follows. " I, Raoul, chief of the Saphirobai, ſent to thee " by the chiefs and captains of ſeveral united nations, de- " mand, that thou wilt grant to-morrow, a public cabar, to " render thee homage of our fidelity and obedience. I am " likewiſe charged to requeſt, that thou wilt not diſplay " the white ſtandard, but the blue, in ſign that thou " heartily acceptеſt our ſubmiſſion.

" The chiefs and captains, aſſembled in cabar, have like- " wiſe commiſſioned me to requeſt, that thou wilt keep " the officers and ſoldiers at a diſtance from the place in " which this cabar ſhall be held; and that, in the mean " time, thou wilt keep, as a guard, the twelve hundred war- " riors, which the nation will conſtantly maintain around " thee."

After this expoſition, he likewiſe ſeated himſelf, in expectation of my anſwer. This unforeſeen proceeding was not a little embarraſſing; but as I was deſirous of time to reflect, and form proper combinations, I immediately replied, that I ſhould with pleaſure ſee the chiefs and nations united in cabar, and that I would then declare my ſentiments in public. In the mean time, I requeſted them to remain convinced of my friendſhip for them, my zeal for their intereſts, and my readineſs to make any ſacrifice for the good of the nation.

My anſwer was ſatisfactory to them, and they all proſtrated themſelves before they quitted me; a mark of ſubmiſſion which no chief had hitherto ſhewn. After their departure, I examined Mr. Mayeur reſpecting the cauſes which had produced this revolution among the chiefs; but he

he excuſed himſelf, and ſaid that ſeveral of my officers knew more of the buſineſs than himſelf. During my converſation with the Sieur Mayeur, I perceived three officers, who came at the head of fifty men, and declared, that having learned what ſteps had been taken at the iſle of France, they had all determined to give up their lives, rather than ſee me quit the iſland; that with regard to themſelves, as they were connected with the natives, they had determined to fix their abode on the iſland, and therefore requeſted that I would no longer conſider them as ſoldiers, but as men devoted to my intereſts. This direct proceeding on the part of officers of diſtinction, embarraſſed me ſtill more. It was in vain that I deſired them to reflect on what they were about; and obſerved, that I could not but blame them for perſiſting in a reſolution of ſuch delicacy: for they replied, that as they had made the ſtep, they could not now go back; that, being connected with the intereſts of the chiefs, and particularly attached to me, they would carry their deſign into execution, whether I approved it or not. On this occaſion they repeated the conduct of the miniſter againſt me; inſiſted upon the intrigues and cabals which the Government of the iſle of France had employed, to induce the natives to cut us off; and they concluded, that what had paſſed was ſufficient to juſtify their conduct. The manner in which all this was ſaid, left me no hope of diſſuading them. I therefore directed my diſcourſe principally to induce them to remain ſteady in their duty, and promiſed to get their diſcharges, in order that they might attach themſelves to the country, without having any cauſe to reproach themſelves. One of the officers

officers informed me, that I ſhould not find ten ſoldiers who would quit Madagaſcar; and that even among the officers, there were not above two or three who were not of their mind. This information convinced me that the connivance of the troops with the chiefs, aroſe from the habitude they had contracted of living with the natives of the country, during the preceding campaign, againſt the Seclaves.

After the departure of the troops, I employed myſelf in forming a plan to appeaſe theſe people, and to take the beſt advantage of the favourable diſpoſition which the natives of the country had ſhewn towards me. This plan naturally led me to that of civilizing the Madagaſcar nations. Towards the evening I gave orders for covering the floor of the hall of cabar, and to make every preparation for celebrating a feſtival at the breaking up of the meeting.

On the 17th, in the morning, twenty-one guns were fired from the fort, without diſplaying the ſtandard; but on the great flag-ſtaff before my houſe a blue flag was diſplayed, agreeably to my orders. I gave directions that all the troops ſhould remain in the fort. At ſeven, a detachment of ſix hundred blacks arrived, and formed a ſquare about the hall. At nine, the chiefs quitted the camp, with all their people, to come to the cabar. On their arrival upon the parade, they ſent twelve chiefs to me, with the ſame number of ſtandards, to conduct me. As I was ready, I followed them; but before I entered the cabar, I went to the chiefs, to thank them for their politeneſs and attention. Sixty-two chiefs were ſeated in cabar, and their attendants remained under arms, in order. The firſt chief who ſpoke, was Manonganon, to the following effect:

" We, the princes and captains, who are aſſembled, " and repreſent the whole nation, being determined by " the rights of thy birth, by thy wiſdom, and by thy af- " fection for us, do declare at this inſtant, that we ac- " knowledge thee for our Ampanſacabe, and intreat thee " to accept this title and rank, with the aſſurance of find- " ing fidelity, affection, and conſtancy in our hearts.

" Anſwer us."

I then aroſe, and replied, that the ſame zeal which the whole nation had acknowledged me to poſſeſs for their welfare, induced me to accept their offer, in the hope that the princes, chiefs, and captains of the nation, would always aſſiſt me in the great enterprize of civilization. I then explained to them the advantages which they, and more eſpecially their children, would derive from the eſtabliſhment of a ſolid government. I addreſſed myſelf to their paſſions, by diſplaying that immortality with which their names would be tranſmitted to poſterity, in conſequence of their having eſtabliſhed wiſe and humane laws; and enlarged on that glory which the Madagaſcar nation would poſſeſs in future times. But that which affected them moſt ſtrongly, was the diſplay of advantages which a well-directed commerce, ſupported by an effectual cultivation of their lands, could not but procure in a very ſhort time. In fact, this part of my ſpeech, relating to a ſubject which was beſt known by the people of Madagaſcar, was naturally the beſt calculated to produce the moſt effect upon their minds.

As ſoon as I had finiſhed my harangue, the chiefs deputed a captain to announce my nomination to the people; immediately after which the diſcharges of muſquetry began, and

and continued near a quarter of an hour. As ſoon as tranquillity was reſtored, a ſecond chief, named Sancé, ſpoke, and informed me that his nation required me to quit the ſervice of the King of France, and to cauſe all thoſe to quit the ſame ſervice who were deſirous of fixing their reſidence at Madagaſcar. And laſtly, that I would declare what province I choſe for the place of my reſidence, in order that they might build a town. When I perceived that he ſpoke no more, I replied, that it was my intention to quit the ſervice of France, and to cauſe all thoſe who were deſirous of remaining at Madagaſcar likewiſe to quit it; but that I could not carry this deſign into execution before the arrival of his Majeſty's commiſſaries; for which reaſon, I requeſted the cabar to defer the performance of the oath, becauſe, as I was hitherto engaged in the ſervice of the King, I was not yet maſter of my actions. With regard to the town in queſtion, I expreſſed my opinion, that it would be moſt convenient to fix it in the centre of the iſland, that I might be as near as poſſible to each province: and in order to render them better acquainted with my intentions, I declared to them, that having accepted the charge of Ampanſacabe, my firſt duty would be to eſtabliſh good laws, to maintain peace and tranquillity throughout the land, and to defend the country from foreign incurſions; after which, my attention would be directed to the eſtabliſhment of commerce in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate, by increaſing cultivation; but that all theſe things could not be done ſimply by my will alone, but that I depended upon the aſſiſtance of the chiefs of the nation, ſome of whom would be nominated to the council,

others to governments, others to the departments of war, the marine, &c.

This diſcourſe led the chiefs to propoſe a variety of queſtions, and it required much converſation to make them comprehend the true ſenſe of what I ſaid. I ſucceeded at laſt in this, and ſeveral of them proſtrated themſelves, and thanked me for having inſpired them with the diſpoſition to form a reſolution of nominating me their Ampanſacabe.

The third chief who ſpoke, was Diamandriſs. He obſerved, that the French would be angry with me for having quitted them, and that conſequently a war might be expected on their part; on which buſineſs he requeſted my opinion.

My reply was, that the King of France had a power over me during the whole time I ſhould continue in his ſervice; but the moment I ſhould quit his ſervice, I ſhould be my own maſter. I admitted the truth, that the French might probably become jealous, when they ſaw the iſland of Madagaſcar formed into a ſolid government; but that I ſhould be ſorry for them if they ſhould adopt the plan of acting by force againſt a whole nation. I obſerved likewiſe, that in a caſe of this nature, I had a plan to propoſe in due time, which would ſecure a ſolid friendſhip between the French and the Madagaſcar nations. Here the chief Raffangour interrupted me, by obſerving, that the French could never be good friends with the Madagaſcar nation, as they muſt conſtantly recollect ſeveral maſſacres of their nation on this iſland.

Raffangour ended the cabar, by propoſing, that an oath ſhould be mutually entered into only between me and the chiefs,

chiefs, with the declaration that it ſhould be publickly repeated as ſoon as I ſhould quit the ſervice of France. This oath was immediately made; and, in order to render it more ſacred, it was confirmed by the oath of blood. This oath is performed by opening the ſkin of the left breaſt with a razor, and each of the aſſiſtants ſucks a drop of the blood of him who is received as chief; at which ceremony maledictions and imprecations are pronounced againſt him who ſhall fail in his engagement.

After the oath, the chiefs commiſſioned the chief Sancé to command their troops, and to be watchful that, on the arrival of the King's commiſſaries, no attempts ſhould be made againſt my perſon. Before the cabar broke up, the chief Sancé went out, doubtleſs for the purpoſe of informing the troops and people how to behave. He ſent word by one of his captains, that all was ready; whereupon we went forth. At my coming forth, the troops lowered their colours, and the Madagaſcar ſoldiers, having their muſquets pointing downwards, laid their left hands on their breaſts, in ſign of engagement, or oath. As I underſtood that there were near eleven thouſand men aſſembled in cabar, I ordered twenty oxen to be killed, and gave them twelve caſks of brandy. With reſpect to the chiefs, I entertained them alone. The troops having at laſt received permiſſion to come out of the fort, followed their officers, to compliment me upon the performance of what they called an agreement of union and harmony between the eſtabliſhment and the chiefs of the country.

The Sieur D'Ecole, my ſecond interpreter, obſerved to me, that all thoſe of the troops who had blue ribbons on

their white cockades had determined to fix their reſidence at Madagaſcar. The reſt of the day was employed in rejoicing. Towards the evening, near twelve hundred women and girls preſented themſelves upon the parade, in compliment to me, where they afterwards amuſed themſelves by dancing. I preſented them all with handkerchiefs, ribbons, and brandy with ſugar.

On the 18th, I convened the chiefs, and propoſed to them to return into their reſpective provinces, to their families, except ſix, whom I was deſirous of having near me, to aſſiſt in quality of counſellors. The chief Sancé, who was to remain, encamped with three thouſand men, ſubject to my orders. This precaution appeared to me to be more particularly neceſſary, as a merchant, who came from Foul Point, and arrived at this port, had aſſured me, that it was publiſhed in the iſle of France, that orders had been given for arreſting me, and ſending me home to be judged criminally.

Between the 19th and 22d, my time was continually employed in take leave of the chiefs, who agreed that they would aſſemble the moment they ſhould perceive fires lighted at Mangabey. Every chief engaged to forward the execution of this ſignal, by lighting ſeveral fires on the coaſt, or upon the mountain.

On the 23d, I at length arrived at that tranquillity I had ſo much deſired ſince my ſettling on the iſland. I ſaw the whole eaſt coaſt perfectly united to the eſtabliſhment, and the weſtern coaſt ready to join in the ſame common intereſt. The cultivation of the country being every where doubled, afforded a promiſe of real advantage; and nothing

nothing was wanting but a more ample ſupply from home, in order to take advantage of the happy ſituation of affairs. But, unfortunately, the moſt proper time for eſtabliſhing the coloniſts was ſuffered to elapſe; and I ſaw myſelf, with grief, reduced to the ſimple movements of an Automaton. I had, beſides, every reaſon to be apprehenſive of the conſequences of the prejudices excited againſt me; for I could attribute the retardation of the ſupplies only to the falſe reports which the adminiſtration of the iſle of France had forwarded to the Court, reſpecting the eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar; and I had reaſon to fear that the miniſtry, being prejudiced by the reports, might defer the ſupplies, for no other purpoſe than that of ruining me. I likewiſe ſaw the principles upon which I had founded the ſettlement at Madagaſcar reduced naturally, by the want of force, to a criſis, which led the natives to a knowledge of their own ſtrength, and to form a government amongſt themſelves, which, when once eſtabliſhed, would no longer permit them to ſuffer a foreign force to reſide amongſt them. The firſt ſtep towards this reſolution being made, if the miniſter has executed the plan which was announced to me, France cannot fail of ſeeing herſelf deprived of all the advantages which were acquired by treaties of commerce and friendſhip with the natives of the country.

On the 27th, a private veſſel, the St. Vincent, commanded by the Sieur Blanchard, arrived from the iſle of France, laden with articles of trade from India, which were well calculated for the trade of barter for rice. I therefore directed the ſtore-keeper to purchaſe his cargo, for the uſe of the eſtabliſhment. I could not diſpenſe with this

this proceeding, becauſe I durſt not give up trading with the natives; becauſe the conſequences would undoubtedly have been a neglect of the cultivation of the country, if the regular trade had been interrupted.

On the 10th, the ſhip Deſire entered the harbour, with the news that Meſſrs. Bellecombe and Chevreau had already arrived at the iſle of France, on board his Majeſty's frigate the Conſolante, and that theſe gentlemen had orders to repair, without delay, to Madagaſcar. This unexpected circumſtance convinced me, that the miniſter had determined to ſend theſe gentlemen in quality of commiſſaries, to ſecure my perſon, in order to purſue violent meaſures for the reduction of the iſlanders by force. My ſuſpicions were at laſt juſtified; for I received a letter from a friend, containing information that theſe inſpectors had orders to bring me to Europe, in caſe they could be aſſured that ſuch a proceeding, on the part of Government, towards me, would not excite the natives of the iſland to drive all the French out of their country. The dependance I placed on the attachment of the natives, ſet me entirely at eaſe in this reſpect; but I was ſtrongly affected with indignation at the deciſion of the miniſter, and determined to reſign my charge, in order that I might have it in my power to ſerve my friends more effectually.

On the 20th, the chiefs of the country having received information of the arrival of new orders from the Court, and obſerving ſome conſternation among my people, waited upon me to enquire whether I had received orders for my departure, and how ſuch orders could be reconciled with the promiſe I had made, that I would never abandon them.

Theſe

Theſe reproaches were followed by lamentations, which affected me very ſenſibly, becauſe I was convinced they aroſe from real attachment. I uſed every exertion to render them eaſy, by obſerving, that the movements they had doubtleſs taken notice of among the white men, were only made as preparations for the honourable reception of a General officer, who came from his Majeſty to enquire into the ſtate of the ſettlement, and to aſſure them of his powerful protection. This anſwer removed their apprehenſions in ſome meaſure, but did not entirely deſtroy them.

On the 21ſt, a ſignal was made on the mountain, that a three-maſted veſſel was in ſight. Soon after, I ſaw her myſelf, and knew her to be the Conſolante. In the evening ſhe anchored off the iſle Aiguillon; and two hours after I received a letter from Meſſrs. Bellecombe and Chevreau, jointly, informing me of their quality as commiſſaries on the part of the King, and inſpectors in their ſeveral departments. This letter was accompanied with an order, in the King's name, for me to come on board. As I had been forewarned of the inſtructions which theſe commiſſaries had received, I did not think proper to go on board, but anſwered, that I was ready, conformably to the orders of his Majeſty, to put the command of the ſettlement into their hands, that they might proceed to act according to their inſtructions; but that, until I had made an act of reſignation, I neither could, nor ought to leave the ſhore. Together with my anſwer I ſent a particular letter to Mr. Bellecombe, whom I intreated to come on ſhore without fear, and without landing his troops; and at the ſame time I ſolemnly promiſed to conform to every requeſt I could

I could honourably comply with. Upon receiving this anſwer, he replied, that he would come on ſhore, to inſpire me with every confidence, by ſurrendering himſelf up to my politeneſs and delicacy. At the end of his letter, he inſinuated, that if he had thought proper to give credit to all that he had heard, he ſhould not have taken this ſtep; but that, as a military man, he would depend on my word of honour.

On the 22d, Meſſrs. De Bellecombe, mareſhal des camps, and Chevreau, commiſſary general of ſtores, came on ſhore. I received them conformably to his Majeſty's orders, ſpecified in the letter of the miniſter, and immediately afterwards I preſented my troop to Mr. De Bellecombe, acknowledging him, at the head of the troops, as inſpector. In the evening of the ſame day, the commiſſaries put into my hands a paper, containing twenty-five articles of queſtions and demands relative to their miſſion, to which they demanded my anſwers to each ſeverally. The reſt of the day was employed in converſation reſpecting the different parts of the eſtabliſhment.

On the 23d, I preſented my anſwers, likewiſe reduced into twenty-five articles, to the gentlemen commiſſioners. This piece, marked *L. X. A.* is annexed to the preſent Memoir. The reſt of the day was employed in viſiting the fort, the publick buildings, and the hoſpital; and, in the mean time, Mr. Chevreau was buſied in examining the accounts, together with thoſe who had charge of the adminiſtration.

On the 24th, I gave an ample account of every thing relating to the military ſervice.

On

On the 25th, the chiefs of the country, to whom I had ſent an invitation to aſſemble at the ſettlement, conformably to the intention of the commiſſaries, demanded ſome days to collect thoſe who reſided at a diſtance. The commiſſaries, in order to ſave time, made an excurſion with me to viſit the two poſts, Fort St. John, and Fort Auguſtus at the plain. The fear of contracting the diſorders of the country occaſioned them to haſten their return.

On the 26th, after our return to Louiſbourg, they held a cabar, or aſſembly, with the chiefs, at which I declined being preſent, in order that the natives of the country might be at liberty to ſpeak their minds. The reſult of this meeting is likewiſe annexed to the preſent Memoir.

On the 27th, the commiſſaries, after having given me a diſcharge reſpecting my paſt conduct, and accounts, and a certificate for the ſum of four hundred and fifteen thouſand livres which I had advanced to the treaſury, prepared to go on board. I believe their departure was haſtened by the fear of diſorders, which they had been informed, at the iſle of France, as being very common at Madagaſcar. This circumſtance probably diſguſted them with our reſidence on ſhore, and might cauſe their reports, though very well written, to be leſs favourable than otherwiſe they might have been.

On the 28th, I delivered to Mr. Bellecombe my act of reſignation, and ſurrendered the command of the troops to Mr. De Sanglier.

On the 29th, Mr. Bellecombe retired on board, and ſent me an order in the King's name to confine my operations to the preſervation of the chief ſettlement, until I ſhould receive

further inſtructions from Court; to put a ſtop to all the works whatever; to continue the prohibition of trading with the blacks, and laſtly, permitting me to abſent myſelf from Madagaſcar. But as I did not think proper to receive charge of any orders, becauſe I had reſigned my office, I forwarded this order to Mr. De Sanglier, and declared to the inſpectors, that being determined from thenceforth to take charge of nothing relative to the eſtabliſhment, I could no otherwiſe forward the new intentions of Government than by the good offices I might render them with the natives of the country. Upon this declaration the inſpectors addreſſed to me a requiſition, that I would promote the advantage of the eſtabliſhment; but they at the ſame time declared, that as they could not accept my diſmiſſion, I was bound to perform the duties of my office until the arrival of preciſe orders from his Majeſty, which would not fail to arrive upon their report. After theſe proceedings I ſaw no more of the commiſſaries, who departed for Foul Point, where I am unacquainted with their proceedings. For my part, I retired immediately into one of my habitations, where I was viſited by ſeveral Rohandrians and Woadziri chiefs, who, having been informed that I had quitted the ſervice of the King of France, required me to enter into the oath of Ampanſacabe; for which reaſon they gave orders for a general meeting of the nation, on the 12th of the next month.

On the third day after my retreat, ſeveral of the officers came to beg I would aſſiſt them with my advice; and the troops ſent deputies to me to declare, that if I did not reſume the command over them, they were determined to leave

leave the fort, and declare themſelves independent. Mr. De Sanglier, the commander, likewiſe urged the ſame requeſt very ſtrongly, and aſſured me, that the troops would infallibly revolt, in caſe of my refuſal; and the natives would, of courſe, ruin the poſts already eſtabliſhed. Theſe repreſentations, and the imminent danger of the ſettlement, determined me at laſt to reſume the command, at the ſame time that I made a declaration, that I was actuated to this proceeding by a wiſh to preſerve the Europeans, and to keep up the connection of friendſhip and commerce; but that this reſumption ſhould not be conſidered as a renewal of any obligation on my part, as I conſidered myſelf as entirely out of the ſervice of France.

Such was the conſequence of the precipitation with which the miniſter acted. My conduct has ſince proved, that all my actions aroſe from the moſt perfect delicacy, and that I did not, in any reſpect, depart from the attachment due to France; and if I refuſed to aſſiſt in ſuch ſteps as Government was deſirous of taking, to the violation of thoſe treaties of alliance and commerce which I had ſtipulated with the Madagaſcar nation, I only did my duty. And certain it is, that I was deſirous of ſerving the French by this conduct, for I was well convinced from the knowledge I had acquired reſpecting the characters and manners of the people, that every attempt by force againſt the liberty of that nation, would be pernicious to the eſtabliſhment and general intereſts of the nation. Future times will prove, that Madagaſcar can never be ſubdued by force, and that mildneſs and equity alone can lead this nation to a civilized ſtate, which, when once eſtabliſhed, cannot fail of procuring immenſe fortune and proſperity to its

allies. But, alas! after what has paſſed, I have no reaſon to hope that the miniſter will change his ſyſtem, though I am determined to uſe every effort to perſuade him to do ſo.

October the 1ſt, 1776. Being deſirous of placing the eſtabliſhment in a ſituation to maintain itſelf, until the arrival of new orders from Court, I returned to Louiſbourg, where having aſſembled the troops, I declared, that I reſumed the command merely with a view to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the eſtabliſhment, to which buſineſs I ſhould afterwards attend jointly with Mr. Coquereau, the principal ſtore-keeper. And in order that my regulations might be duly performed, I aſſembled a committee, compoſed of the principal ſtore-keeper, two captains, and a ſub-commiſſary of the marines, in which we regulated the proviſions for the ſubſiſtence and continuation of trade, as well as the conduct we ſhould in future adopt with reſpect to the natives. With regard to the military ſervice, few alterations were neceſſary, becauſe I had always attended cloſely to that department.

The 2d and 3d were employed in writing out inſtructions for the reſpective individuals.

On the 4th, an aſſembly of the chiefs of the Sambarives, Saphirobai, Antavoeny, Antivohibey, Antimaroa, Antambour, Antimokol, Antimananhar, Safeibrahim, and Saferahimina, was held, in which I declared, that having quitted the ſervice of the King of France, I thought it proper to inform his Majeſty, by his miniſters, reſpecting the poſition of the eſtabliſhment, in order that I might have no cauſe to reproach myſelf for the conſequences, in

caſe the French miniſter ſhould perſiſt in his intention of ſubjugating the inhabitants of Madagaſcar by force; for which reaſon I requeſted them all to confeſs, ſincerely, whether they were deſirous of the continuation of the eſtabliſhment, or its recall; and I promiſed, upon oath, to tranſmit their deciſion, word for word, to the King of France. Upon this propoſal, the chiefs held a conſultation of near an hour, and afterwards, having reſumed their places, anſwered as follows:

"Wiſe and prudent as thou art, can'ſt thou doubt our "attachment towards thee? Haſt thou not ſeen with "what ardour we have fought againſt our brothers, when "they had rebelled, in order to bring them to their duty. "Whence, therefore, is it that thou ſheweſt ſo much diſ-"truſt towards a people which is attached to thee? If "thy heart tells thee that thou wiſheſt well to the French, "ſay, and write to their King, that we offer him our hearts "and our friendſhip. But we wiſh to live under thy "command. Thou art our father and our lord. Let the "French love thee, as we do, and our arms ſhall be united "to theirs; our colours ſhall be united with thoſe of the "white men, and we will fight valiantly againſt the com-"mon enemy: but if thou muſt ſuffer the hatred of the "French, we will never acknowledge them as our bre-"thren, but their enemies ſhall be our friends. Theſe "are our thoughts, and the words of our hearts. Promiſe, "therefore, before that God, whom we all adore, to write "them to the King of the French, and engage that thou "wilt be more attached to us than to the French nation, "and wilt never deſert us."

Being

Being aſſured of this unanimous reply, I made preparations for the cabar and oath, and engaged to inform the King of France of the thoughts of the Madagaſcar people, and to live with them in future. The chiefs, on their ſide, engaged to obey my orders exactly, and to live in good harmony with the eſtabliſhment.

After the ceremony was ended, I gave an entertainment to the natives, at which all the Europeans were preſent. This ſeries of events preceding a revolution, which fixes the epoch of the civilization of Madagaſcar, led me to make many reflections. I knew, by experience, how little I could depend on the propriety of the deciſions of the Cabinet of Verſailles. My firmneſs alone was left me to bear up againſt the apprehenſions of the political artifices which France would employ againſt me, to calumniate and deſtroy my reputation. But being aſſured of my loyalty, I determined, after having fixed my ſyſtem of conduct amongſt the chiefs and people of Madagaſcar, to return into France, in order to preſent in perſon an account of the intereſts of the ſettlement, and to combat the prejudices of the miniſter. I was well aware of the riſk I ran; but at length the care of my reputation, and my affection for the people who had adopted me, led me to this reſolution. I determined, therefore, that as France could not charge me with rebellion, and could only blame her miniſters for their ignorance of her real intereſts, I would employ my fortune, my credit, and even the intereſt of Madagaſcar, to procure friends to that iſland, and bring the great work of civilization to an happy concluſion. This is my reſolution, and I will adhere to it as long as I live.

On

On the 5th, I received from the different chiefs conſiderable preſents, in ſlaves, cattle, and rice, which I diſtributed to the troops. This day, having convoked all the people of the eſtabliſhment, I declared to them, that having ſecured their tranquillity with the natives of the country, and provided for their ſubſiſtence until they could receive orders from Court, I ſhould now quit them, and would no longer retain any command. Their tears were an unequivocal anſwer, and I heard but one exclamation, "No, we will not loſe our father!"

On the 6th, the interpreter announced that ſix deputed chiefs had arrived with a conſiderable number of armed men. Upon receiving them, they informed me that the great day of the oath approached, and that the chiefs and people in aſſembly, deſired that I would meet them, for which purpoſe they had detached the troops for my ſafeguard and ſervice. To conform, therefore, to their deſires, I quitted my French dreſs, and aſſumed that of an Indian; after which I ſet out. It was neceſſary for me to paſs through a long row of natives of the country, who ſhouted, and invoked Zahanhar. My friends, the officers of my troop, and the whole people of the eſtabliſhment, followed me. As ſoon as I had arrived at the camp, I was received by all the chiefs, and conducted to the tent which was deſigned for me, with ſix others for my domeſtics. I cauſed ſix four-pounders to be brought into my camp, which were placed before my tent, and a daily appointment of two hundred men was ordered for my guard.

On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, I was employed in drawing out my propoſals to the aſſembly, for the eſtabliſhment of

a permanent Government. The 10th at laſt arrived, and I was awakened by a triple diſcharge of cannon. At ſix in the morning the chief Raffangour, with ſix others, all cloathed in white, preſented themſelves at my feet, and requeſted to ſpeak with me. I received them without my tent, being likewiſe cloathed in white. The diſcourſe of Raffangour expreſſed the teſtimonies of confidence with which the Madagaſcar nation had intruſted me with the ſupreme power, and the advantages they hoped to attain from my knowledge and ſervices. After his ſpeech, he begged me to follow him; and we went out of the camp into the plain, where we entered into a circle formed by an aſſembly of thirty thouſand armed men. The chiefs being each at the head of the people of their own nation, and the women without the circle, the chiefs immediately formed the firſt circle round us, and Raffangour harangued them to the following effect:

" Bleſſed be Zahanhar, who has returned to his people. " Bleſſed be the blood of Zafferamini, to whom our attach- " ment is due. Bleſſed be the law of our fathers, which " commands us to obey a chief deſcended from the blood " of Ramini. Our fathers and ourſelves, have expe- " rienced, that diſunion is the puniſhment of God. Since " the long time we have been deprived of a chief of the " ſacred race of Ramini, we have lived like wild beaſts; " ſometimes killing our brethren, and at other times pe- " riſhing by their violence. Enfeebled by our diſunion, " we have always been the prey of the ſtrongeſt. We " have been wicked, without being deſirous to liſten to " the voice of juſtice and equity. Yes, we have in our

" own

" own times beheld the wretched deſcendants of thoſe " who ſpilled the blood of Ramini, call in the French to " aſſiſt them in oppreſſing and deſtroying their brethren. " We know how Zahanhar has puniſhed them, by per- " mitting one of their ſlaves, ſupported by the French, to " ſpill their blood, in expiation of their crimes. You all " underſtand me; but I have thought proper to bring theſe " facts to your recollection, in order that you might take " the union of hearts for your law. To preſerve this, you " muſt follow the law of your fathers, which commands " you to ſubmit to the deſcendant of Ramini—I here " preſent him to you; I give him this ſagaie, that he may " be the only Ombiaſſobe, as was our father Ramini. At- " tend to my voice, ye Rohandrians, Anacandrians, Vo- " adziri, Lohavohites, Philoubey, Ondzatſi, Ombiaſſes, " Ampouria. It is the law of the blood of our fathers. " Acknowledge the Ampanſacabe; ſubmit to him, liſ- " ten to his voice, follow the laws which he ſhall give, " and you ſhall be happy. Alas! my old age does not " permit me to ſhare your happineſs, my friends, and my " ſpirit ſhall not perceive the teſtimonies of that gratitude, " which you may ſhew to my tomb." He then turned to me, and proceeded—" And thou, worthy ſon of the " blood of Ramini, implore the aſſiſtance of God, who " enlightens thee with his ſpirit. Be juſt; love thy peo- " ple as thy children; let their happineſs be thine, and " be not a ſtranger to their wants and misfortunes. Go- " vern and aſſiſt with thy councils the Rohandrians and " Anacandrians; protect the Voadziri; watch with pa- " ternal care over the Lohavohites and Philoubey; em-

" ploy, for the general good, the Ondzatſi and Ombiaſſes ; " and do not deſpiſe the Ampouria ; cauſe them to conſi- " der their maſters as their fathers, as it was in the time " of our father Ramini."

Having finiſhed this diſcourſe, he put the ſagaie into my hands, and proſtrated himſelf before me, as did likewiſe his companions, and all the chiefs that were aſſembled together ; and at laſt I ſaw upwards of fifty thouſand men proſtrated before me. Raffangour requeſted me to make a public anſwer, which he repeated in theſe words----" Ve- " loun Raminiha, Veloun Ouloun malacaſſa, Veloun Ro- " handriani, Anacandriani, Voadziri, Lohavohites, Phi- " loubey, Ondzatſi, Ombiaſſes, Ampouria, Veloun, Ve- " loun Zaffé Aminiha, Mitomba Zahanhar :"----which implies, Long live the blood of Ramini, Long live the Madagaſcar nation, Long live the Rohandrians, &c. Long live the blood of our fathers, and may the God who created the heavens and the earth long preſerve us all. The people gave repeated ſhouts whenever I named any claſs ; and at laſt aroſe ; and when every one was ſtanding, I continued my ſpeech, by ſaying, that I acknowledged the favour of Heaven, which had brought me again to the land of my fathers ; that I ſhould employ my whole life in attending to what the ſpirit of God ſhould inſpire me to do, that every individual of the Madagaſcar nation might conſider me as a father. I then intreated the Rohandrians, and the other chiefs, to the Voadziri incluſive, to aſſiſt me with their counſels. I engaged the Lohavohites faithfully to execute the orders they ſhould receive ; and I aſſured the Ampouria, that the laws would abate the inconveniences of

of their unhappy ſtate of ſlavery. I promiſed the Ondzatſi and Ombiaſſes to employ them in the welfare of the nation; and I concluded my diſcourſe by declaring, that I conſidered it as my duty to devote all my time to the eſtabliſhment of a form of Government, in order that union and harmony might be preſerved. I was continuing my harangue, when Raffangour begged me to ſtop. The orders then ſeparated from each other, the Rohandrians aſſembling together, and Anacandrians likewiſe apart, as did all the others. I was firſt led to the Rohandrians, where I found an ox, whoſe throat I cut, at the ſame time pronouncing the oath of ſacrifice, and every Rohandrian took a drop of the blood, which he ſwallowed, repeating, with a loud voice, imprecations againſt himſelf and his children, in caſe he ſhould fail in the obedience he had ſworn to me. I was then conducted to the circle of the Anacandrians, where I killed two oxen, and the ſame oath was repeated. In this manner I paſſed through all the claſſes of the people, where I killed three oxen for the Voadziri, four with the Lohavohites, ſix with the Ondzatſi, two with the Ombiaſſes, and twelve with the Ampouria. Theſe laſt dipped the ends of their ſagaies in the blood, and licked them, at the ſame time pronouncing the oath. This whole ceremony paſſed without the leaſt confuſion; and I was again conducted to the circle of the Rohandrians, who made a ſecond oath with me, which was performed in this manner:----each perſon made an inciſion, with a razor, under the left breaſt, as I did likewiſe myſelf, and each mutually ſucked the blood of each other, at the ſame time pronouncing the moſt horrible maledictions againſt whoever ſhould

violate his oath, and benedictions in favour of thoſe who ſhould continue faithful to their engagement. All this ceremony was ended in the courſe of two hours. After noon the chiefs announced to their people a moment of recollection, to invoke the ſpirit of God, and to thank Zahanhar for his goodneſs and protection.

At a quarter paſt two the Rohandrians conducted me to my tent, where I detained them to dinner. I invited the Anacandrians and Voadziri to drink after dinner, and ſent four caſks of brandy to the Lohavohites, to be diſtributed among the Ondzatſi, Ombiaſſes, and Ampouria.

About ſix in the evening, near three hundred women, natives of the country, appeared, and requeſted to make an oath with my ſpouſe. The ceremony was performed by moon-light, and their oath was made by dancing. The purport of it was, that they would obey the orders of my ſpouſe, and would appeal to her in all the diſputes and quarrels, in which it was not proper for men to meddle. This oath being finiſhed, their rejoicings began, and the night paſſed in dances and ſongs.

On the 11th, I requeſted all the chiefs to aſſemble, to hold their firſt cabar. At eight, the aſſembly being full, I required the execution of an act of engagement, under oath, to be made with the inſertion of all the names of the chiefs and people preſent. This act was written in the language of the country, with Roman letters, and was as follows:

"This act of oath of the Kings Rohandrian, of the "Princes Voadziri, of the chiefs Lohavohites, and the "people of Madagaſcar, made the 10th of October, 1776, appointing

" appointing and confirming the election of Maurice Au-
" guſtus Count of Benyowſky, to the rank of Ampanſa-
" cabe, or ſupreme chief of the nation, the Kings, Princes,
" chiefs, and people underſigned, being aſſembled in ca-
" bar:

" In preſence of our people, having conſumed the ſacri-
" fice, and made the oath of blood, we proclaim, declare,
" and acknowledge Mauritius Auguſtus for our ſupreme
" chief Ampanſacabe, titles extinct ſince the deceaſe of our
" holy family of Ramini, which we revive in him and his
" family. It is for this reaſon that, having conſumed the
" ſacrifice, we ſubmit inviolably to his authority; in con-
" ſequence of which we determine to erect, in our province
" of Mahavelou, a monument to perpetuate the memory
" of our union, and to immortalize our holy oath: In
" order that our infants, and their children, unto the moſt
" remote poſterity, may be obedient to the ſacred family
" Ombiaſſe of the Ampanſacabe, whom we all ſanctify
" by our ſubmiſſions. Curſed be our children who ſhall
" not obey our preſent will; curſed be their inheritances,
" and the fruits of the earth on which they ſhall ſubſiſt:—
" may the moſt horrid ſlavery confound them."

This oath, having been three times read aloud, was ſigned, in the name of the nation, by

HIAVI, King of the Eaſt.
LAMBOUIN, King of the North.
RAFFANGOUR, Rohandrian of the Sambarives.

A LIST

A LIST OF THE GREAT MEN, OR CHIEFS, AND THE PEOPLE PRESENT AT THIS CABAR.

Raffangour Rohandrian---Cievi Voadziri,
Of the province of Zaferamini, with their people.

Sianique Rohandrian---Mandingue Anacandrian,
Of the province of Zaphirobay, with their people.

Raoul Anacandrian---Diamanong Voadziri,
Of the province of Antambour, with their people.

Manongamon Rohandrian---Mamon Anacandrian,
Of the province of Antivoiefou, with their people.

Manacandrin Anacandrian----Diamandrifs Lohavohits,
Of the province of Antifapherobay, with their people.

Raffenou Anacandrian---Leloatou Anacandrian,
Of the province of Antivohibey, with their people.

Sancé Rohandrian Malata---Damo Anacandrian,
Of the the province of Sambarives, with their people.

Lambaranthe Rohandrian---Francé Anacandrian,
Of the province of Antfirac, with their people.

Hiavi Rohandrianabé,
King, with his troop of Ondzatfi.

Lamboiun Rohandrianabé,
King of the North, with his troop.

Ramaraombe Rohandrian---Diamboulmaſſe Anacandrian,
Of the province of Maſſouala, with their troops.

Raffidzimon Anacandrian---Diafaitſche Lohavohits,
Of the province of Antavacayr, with their people.

Dianbandze Anacandrian---Siomba Lohavohits,
Of the province of Rantabay, with their people.

Romain Lohavohites---Mamay Lohavohits,
Of the province ſubjected to Hiavi, with the Ondzatſi.

Diane Sara Rohandrian---Ravoye Lohavohits,
Of the province of Manoarou, with their people.

Mumere Rohandrian---Ravoye Lohavohits,
Of the province of Mananzari, with their people.

Ravouſow Anacandrian---Belaze Lohavohits,
Of the province of Mahafali, with their people.

Diane Souloat Rohandrian---Fanhamenon Anacandrian,
Of the province of Matanany, with their people.

I employed the reſt of the day in conferring with the chiefs, in order to perſuade them to adopt a conſtitution, which I had determined to propoſe the following day, the hour of meeting being fixed at ten.

This

This day likewiſe was employed in feſtivals and rejoicing; and nothing paſſed of any importance, except the delivery of a petition, ſigned by thirty-eight ſoldiers, five ſubaltern officers, three officers, and ſix perſons employed in civil affairs. They entreated that I would grant them my protection, which I could not refuſe. They had previouſly ſecured an aſſurance of protection from the greater part of the Rohandrians. Towards the evening I received advice of the arrival of two private veſſels upon the coaſt, and I immediately ſent an interpreter to purchaſe the ſaid veſſels and their cargoes.

On the 12th, the chiefs of the province of Rantabay preſented the Europeans who formerly belonged to the ſettlement, and requeſted me to receive them under my protection, and permit them to ſettle amongſt us. I conſented to this, and their oath was received in cabar. At ten, the meeting being full, I opened the buſineſs, by a motion for the eſtabliſhment of a form of government and conſtitution. My propoſal was to the following effect:

"In conſequence of my election to the office of Am-
"panſacabe, I find myſelf charged with a prodigious
"weight. When I conſidered the duties annexed to my
"office, by accepting this charge, I foreſaw that the ge-
"neral good of the nation muſt be my firſt aim. To at-
"tain this, I am convinced that the power ought to be
"lodged in the hands of a ſupreme Council, compoſed of
"members of known wiſdom, prudence, and activity.
"Let this Council exerciſe all the acts of ſovereignty, and
"poſſeſs the ſole right, with the conſent of the Ampan-
"ſacabe, of convening the general aſſembly of the nation.

In

" In order that they may adopt and agree to the conſtitu-
" tion, when it ſhall be drawn out, or whenever it ſhall be
" required, to adminiſter the oath of fidelity to the
" Ampanſacabe. From among the members of the ſu-
" preme Council, who ſhall always be taken out of the
" rank of Rohandrians and Anacandrians, whether Indians
" or Europeans, nomination ſhall be made to the places
" of governors of provinces, as well as to the offices of
" miniſters of State, whether in the departments of war,
" marine, finance or trade, juſtice or agriculture. And
" as it is likewiſe neceſſary to watch with the greateſt
" exactneſs to the execution of all the orders and reſolu-
" tions appointed by the ſupreme Council, the Ampanſa-
" cabe, with the advice of the Council, ſhall eſtabliſh a
" permanent Council, compoſed of one or two Rohandrians,
" and all the reſt of the Voadziri and Lohavohites. Let
" there be provincial Councils likewiſe, whoſe members
" ſhall conſiſt of a Rohandrian governor, five Anacandrians,
" two Voadziri, four Lohavohites, and the reſt of the
" Ondzatſi and Ombiaſſes. The buſineſs of the ſupreme
" Council will be conſtantly to prevent all diſſentions,
" which might ariſe from miſunderſtandings between the
" Rohandrians, or between the ſeveral provinces; it will
" be incumbent on them to uſe only the ways of juſtice.
" They muſt watch, leſt foreign armies ſhould make at-
" tempts againſt the liberty of the Madagaſcar nation, by
" forming eſtabliſhments on ſhore. Their conſtant endea-
" vour muſt be, to render induſtry and trade flouriſhing;
" and, in a word, their utmoſt exertions muſt be directed
" to ſecure the moſt perfect proſperity to the community."

I concluded my diſcourſe, by aſſuring the cabar, that with the aid and aſſiſtance of God, I hoped to ſee, in a ſhort time, happineſs, riches, and proſperity, return to the nation; and, by means of due order and form of government, eſtabliſhed on good principles, I hoped that the iſland would be for ever freed from diſcord, the ſcourge of war, and the unhappy ſtate of ſlavery.

As ſoon as I had ceaſed to ſpeak, all thoſe who were preſent cried out, "Velou Ampanſacabe, velou Ramini;" which implies, Long live our lord, long live the deſcendant of Ramini. The chief Raffangour begged that I would permit him to announce my diſcourſe to the people; and he went out for this purpoſe, and returned in the ſpace of an hour, with all the people. On his return into the cabar, he aſſured all the chiefs, that the nation entruſted all their rights to the aſſembly, the individuals of which gave me full authority to form a ſupreme Council, and to do every thing I thought proper for their common welfare. I therefore proceeded to nominate to the charges of the ſupreme Council, the number of which was fixed at thirty-two perſons.

Four Europeans were immediately nominated, and eight natives of the country, whoſe names were as follow:

Raffangour Rohandrian,
Sianique Rohandrian,
Raoul Anacandrian,
Manongamanon Rohandrian,
Raffenou Anacandrian,
Sancé Rohandrian, a Mulatto,
Hiavi Rohandrian,
Lambouin Rohandrian.

The

The two laſt mentioned Rohandrians ſolemnly renounced all pretentions to ſupremacy.

The nomination of the twenty other members was deferred, in order to afford employ for ſuch Europeans as might hereafter arrive, and thoſe natives of the country who might be found to poſſeſs abilities.

After this nomination, which was univerſally approved by ſhouts of joy, I proceeded to that of the permanent Council, which was confined to eighteen individuals.

Two Europeans were immediately nominated, and ſix natives of the country, whoſe names were as follow:

Ramazaombe Rohandrian,
Rafidzimon Anacandrian,
Diamanong Voadziri,
Zievi Voadziri,
Diamandriſſe Lohavohits,
Diafaiche Lohavohits.

This nomination was likewiſe applauded; and the nomination of the ten other members was deferred, for the ſame reaſon as was mentioned reſpecting the ſupreme Council.

Being ſatisfied with the buſineſs of the day, having eſtabliſhed theſe two pillars which were to ſupport the burthen of the conſtitution, I adjourned the cabar till the following day, at eight o'clock. This day I received a demand from the ſettlement, to furniſh a cargo of rice for the iſle of France; but the commander at Louiſbourg informed me that the ſtorehouſes were empty, and unprovided with any articles of trade, and that it would be impoſſible for him to extricate himſelf without my aſſiſtance. In conſequence

of this repreſentation, and to ſhew how much I had the good of the ſettlement at heart, I requeſted the Saphirobai chiefs to open a trade for bills, of which I formed a model, and ſent a ſufficient number to the commander of the ſettlement.

In the night of this day I received advice, that the King of the Seclaves had ſent preſents and envoys towards me, to conclude the peace. I diſpatched a Rohandrian to meet them.

On the 13th, the Council being aſſembled, I propoſed to determine upon a place for the erection of a town: the place appointed was at the head of the river Manangouzon. It was likewiſe propoſed to erect ſix governments, from the harbour of Moroava to the point of Itapere. But as I was in want of people capable of fulfilling theſe charges, I deferred the execution of the act of Council. This circumſtance afforded me an occaſion to repreſent to the members of the Council, that it would be of the greateſt advantage for the intereſts of the nation, to form treaties of commerce and friendſhip with the King of France, or ſome other European power, in order to ſecure the exportation of our productions, and the importation of articles neceſſary for the inſtruction of youth in the different ſciences, arts, and trades, by engaging Europeans of ſkill in thoſe reſpective employments, to come and eſtabliſh themſelves among us. I accompanied this propoſition with an aſſurance, that I would go on this buſineſs myſelf; and there was only the old Raffangour Rohandrian who teſtified his diſpleaſure, and ſaid openly, that I was going to ſeek my death. He intreated his countrymen to oppoſe my departure; but, unfortunately, I was too ſtrongly attached to my principles,

and

and I declared that it was my intention to repair to Europe, in order to conclude treaties of commerce and friendſhip with any European nation whatever, and that I had only deferred the execution of this project until the form of Government I had eſtabliſhed ſhould be in a regular train.

The 14th, 15th, and 16th, I was conſtantly employed in eſtabliſhing the rules and orders of Government. This day the envoys of Cimanounpou, King of the Seclaves, were preſented to me. They announced a preſent of eighty ſlaves, and five hundred oxen; but as they declared they were ſent by their King to the French commandant, after having aſſured them that this title no longer belonged to me, I cauſed them to be conducted, with their attendants, to Louiſbourg; but their aſtoniſhment was extreme, when they heard that I was choſen Ampanſacabe, and deſcendant of the line of Ramini; for it was not till after the death, or rather the maſſacre, of Ramini Larizon, that the Rohandrian of Boyana, aſſumed the title of King of the Seclaves.

On the 17th, I purchaſed the cargo of a private veſſel, of the value of forty-five thouſand livres, for which I gave one hundred and twenty-eight ſlaves. This cargo was afterwards conſigned to the diſpoſition of Ramaraombe Rohandrian, member of the permanent Council.

On the 18th, judging it neceſſary to eſtabliſh an order for the military ſervice, I nominated Sancé Rohandrian, a Mulatto, Miaditompe Generaliſſimo, and eſtabliſhed twelve companies, each of one hundred and fifty Ondzatſi, with orders to look to the preſervation of the peace, conformably to the inſtructions which ſhould be preſcribed by the ſupreme Council. At the inſtant of this formation, each

Rohandrian

Rohandrian demanded permiſſion to eſtabliſh, in his reſpective diſtrict, a company of war. I not only granted this requeſt, but ordered them ſo to do; and, with a view to give a ſanction to this military eſtabliſhment, I determined to make the reſolution in full cabar, which I had appointed for the 19th. This day I cauſed twenty-two ſtandards to be made, in order to be diſtributed to the different Rohandrians and Anacandrians. Theſe colours had a blue ground, with a white moon in the middle. Thoſe of each legion had a blue ſquare on a white ground, with a moon and ſix ſtars in the middle.

On the 19th, the people being aſſembled in cabar, I gave my ſanction to the eſtabliſhment of bodies of troops; and the colours were diſtributed with a degree of ſolemnity which was truly ſtriking.

On the 20th, having a corvette ready to ſail, and having regulated the direction of my houſes, and provided for the affairs of the nation, I determined to renew the propoſals reſpecting my departure, and demanded titles and powers relative to my miſſion. The following was concluded on in the Council.

The chiefs Rohandrian, Anacandrian, Voadziri, Lohavohiti, and the people Ondzatſi and Ombiaſſes, aſſembled in general cabar of the nation, having agreed to the propoſition made by their Ampanſacabe, and conſented that the ſaid Ampanſacabe ſhall abſent himſelf to make a voyage to Europe, in order to conclude a treaty with the King of France, or any other nation; and to empower him to engage men, ſkilful in different arts and occupations, to come and dwell at Madagaſcar; it is in conſequence that they have determined to give him entire authority, and abſolute power.

power. They promiſe to him to follow exactly the order which he has preſcribed for the form of Government, during the whole time of his abſence; and they ſwear to be faithful to him; that they will not admit any foreigner into their iſland; and ſtill leſs will they ſuffer any of their people to make particular treaties with any perſon whomſoever. They declare likewiſe, that after the expiration of the term of one year and a half, if they do not ſee their Ampanſacabe return, they will not ſuffer any French ſettlement upon the coaſt of their iſland.

But they require that their Ampanſacabe oblige himſelf to return, whether he ſhall ſucceed or not in his enterprize; and that, in caſe of any retardation, he ſhall ſend them news of his ſafety.

Theſe engagements and reſolutions were confirmed by the oath of blood, and the cabar broke up with lamentations, which ſtrongly ſhook my reſolution; but, alas! my deſtiny was too ſtrong, and I followed its impulſe in what appeared to me to be juſt and reaſonable.

After the cabar had riſen, Raffangour came to me, to repreſent once more the danger to which I expoſed myſelf. He aſſured me, that he knew the French to be ambitious of rendering themſelves maſters of the iſland, ſooner or later, and that they would make attempts againſt my life and liberty. He urged examples of their ferocity, by repeating what had been their behaviour upon the iſland. In a word, he ſpoke to me in the language of a friend, who was aware of the calamities that awaited me. His reaſoning was well founded, and reſted upon the higheſt probability; and I can only blame my zeal to promote the intereſt of France, at the riſk of loſing my fortune, my eſtate

eſtate, and my life. This day was employed in drawing out the full powers, which were read in the committee, and duly expedited. Here follows a copy of the full powers.

October 23, 1776. In the plain of Mahavelou, the Kings, Princes, chiefs, and people of Madagaſcar, upon the north and eaſtern coaſts of the iſland, being united in cabar, or general aſſembly, having heard the propoſitions of their Ampanſacabe, placing an entire confidence in his affection towards them, and his ſworn fidelity to perform his engagements, give unto him abſolute and irrevocable powers to treat in Europe with the King of France, or any other King or nation, and to form commercial or friendly alliances, relations, or engagements. In conſequence whereof we declare, in the preſent cabar, our approval, agreement, and ratification of whatever he ſhall ſign and conclude, in his quality of an Ampanſacabe. And, to conſolidate our ſubmiſſions, we have unanimouſly reſolved, and do appoint, that in caſe the King of France ſhall not accept our offers, the Ampanſacabe ſhall enjoy full authority and power to addreſs himſelf to any other Sovereign or nation, and to conclude treaties of commerce and friendſhip with them, and to make other engagements relative thereto. And, in the mean time, during the abſence of our Ampanſacabe, we ſolemnly bind ourſelves, not to receive any foreigner into our iſland, nor to form any treaty or connection with any other nation; in teſtimony of which we have executed the preſent inſtrument, after having cauſed it to be read and interpreted in full cabar, and have put the ſame into the hands of our ſaid Lord Ampanſacabe. Signed

the year, the month, and the day above written, in the name of the whole nation.

RAFFANGOUR, Rohandrian,
HIAVI, King of the Eaſt,
LAMBOUIN, King of the North.

On the 21ſt, I informed the chiefs, that being deſirous of making preparations for my departure, I ſhould take my leave of them; and I propoſed to them to acknowledge, for the whole time of my abſence, Raffangour chief of the ſupreme Council, or, in his abſence or failure, the chief Sancé. The reſt of this day was taken up in a feſtival, at which more than forty thouſand people were preſent.

From the 22d of this month to the 10th of December, I was employed in arranging a variety of affairs, of a public as well as private nature.

On the 11th, I went to Louiſbourg to aſſiſt the commanding officer of that ſettlement with my advice; and on the 14th, being at laſt informed, that every thing was embarked on board the brig, the Belle Arthur, which I had freighted to carry me to the Cape of Good Hope, I took my leave to go on board. When I came to the ſea ſide, I found myſelf ſurrounded by moſt of the chiefs of the country, and all the people of the ſettlement, wiſhing me a good voyage; and the natives invoking Zahanhar to aſſiſt me in my undertakings. At the concluſion they all wept; and, at this ſingle moment of my life, I experienced what the heart is capable of ſuffering, when torn from a beloved and affectionate ſociety to which it is devoted. At length I went on board, not without paying a tribute to

nature, which I had never experienced during the moſt dreadful ſufferings of my tyrannical exile. The north wind at length began to blow afreſh; and towards evening I ſet ſail for the Cape of Good Hope, at which place I propoſed to freight another veſſel, to carry me to France. This voyage may probably give birth to happy circumſtances, ſuch as my wiſhes have formed, in favour of the ſettlement at Madagaſcar, and may perhaps repair the faults committed by the miniſter.

THE END.

PIECES referred to in the MEMOIRS.

1775. The Piece *L. X.*

AT a meeting of the corps of the officers of the Volunteers, under the Count de Benyowſky.

On the twenty-ſecond day of September, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five; the Baron de Benyowſky, Colonel of the ſaid corps of Volunteers, named after him, and Commander in Chief of the eſtabliſhments of his Majeſty the King of France, upon the iſland of Madagaſcar, being informed, by the Surgeon Major, of his critical ſituation during his illneſs, which, by the daily and very evident diminution of his ſtrength, threatened to come to a fatal determination: and being deſirous, in conſequence, to prevent the alarms of the gentlemen officers of his corps; who, beholding their chief ſinking under the violence of a dangerous diſorder, and being likewiſe aware of the weak ſituation of the troops, expoſed to an infinity of unhappy conſequences, as well on account of the want of pay as cloathing, have deſired that a meeting might be held, for the purpoſe of rendering them acquainted with the will of their chief, and thoſe orders which they ſhould follow, in caſe of his deceaſe: From theſe cauſes and reaſons

the ſaid Baron de Benyowſky, Colonel of the corps of Volunteers, and Commander in Chief for his Majeſty upon this iſland, has appointed the twenty-fifth of the preſent month, in order to conſult upon the ſteps which may be moſt proper to be taken in ſuch critical circumſtances; and in conſequence thereof, he has given his orders, that the reaſons which have determined him to call the meeting, as well as the reſults then and there determined upon, ſhould be written down, and entered in the regiſter of the corps.

The Baron de Benyowſky, notwithſtanding the violence of his illneſs, finding himſelf in poſſeſſion of perfect underſtanding and tranquillity of mind, required the conſent of his Surgeon Major, that he might preſide at the aſſembly, which at length, after ſeveral conſultations with the other ſurgeons, was granted. He therefore ordered the officers of his corps to meet, at the general quarters, on the twenty-fifth of the preſent month, that is to ſay, Mr. De Mallendre, Captain; Mr. Le Cerf, Captain; Mr. Perthuis, Lieutenant; Mr. Certain, Lieutenant; Mr. De la Boullaye, ſecond Lieutenant; Mr. De La Tour, ſecond Lieutenant; Mr. Lermina, Quartermaſter; Mr. Evali, Enſign; Mr. Roſieres, Lieutenant, Aid de Camp, and performing the function of Secretary; and Mr. Beſſe, Treaſurer, invited to be preſent at the aſſembly, in quality of principal officer of the adminiſtration, in lieu of principal Storekeeper, or Commiſſary.

In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, on the twenty-fifth of September: Preſent the following officers of the corps of Volunteers of Benyowſky; Mr. De Mallendre, Captain; Mr. Le Cerf; Captain, Mr. Perthuis,

Perthuis, Lieutenant; Mr. Certain, Lieutenant; Mr. De la Boullaye, ſecond Lieutenant; Mr. De La Tour, ſecond Lieutenant; Mr. Lermina, Quartermaſter; Mr. Evali, Enſign; Mr. Roſieres, Lieutenant, Aid de Camp, and performing the function of Secretary; and Mr. Beſſe, Treaſurer, invited to be preſent at the aſſembly, in quality of principal officer of Adminiſtration, in lieu of principal Storekeeper, or Commiſſary—Mr. De Sanglier being detached to the iſle of France; Mr. De La Boullaye ſenior, Lieutenant, and Corbi, ſecond Lieutenant, being abſent with a party upon this iſland. The Baron De Benyowſky addreſſed the aſſembly as follows:

"The apprehenſions, gentlemen, which you have entertained concerning my illneſs, are new proofs of your attachment; but as I find them guided by the zeal which you all poſſeſs for the ſervice of the King, our maſter, it becomes me to paſs over the emotions of gratitude with which my mind is impreſſed, and to ſpeak, in the firſt place, of the intereſts with which the Court has entruſted me, in order that you may be enabled to proceed with certainty, in caſe it ſhould pleaſe Divine Providence to require my life.

"At the end of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-two, the King gave orders for raiſing our corps, and appointed me to the command. At the beginning of the following year, I received his Majeſty's orders, by the miniſters, to repair with the ſaid corps to this iſland; but as I was at the ſame time enjoined to keep the ſubject of our miſſion a ſecret, I durſt not acquaint you with the place of our deſtination, of which you were not informed but in a very confuſed manner, at the iſle

"of

" of France. You will obſerve, that it was no want of " confidence on my part, which left you ignorant of the " ſubject of our enterprize. The conduct which I have " held towards you during our paſſage, and my diligence " in inſtructing you in the art of tacticks, convinced you " of my zeal for your common good, which you have re- " paid by marks of attachment and eſteem, which will ne- " ver be effaced from my mind. Since our arrival at our " place of deſtination, we have ſuffered together a variety " of diſtreſſes and fatigue, and have combated againſt the " intemperance of a ſultry climate, and the violence of a " people jealous of their liberty. We have armed ourſelves " with courage to execute the orders we received, and " ſucceſs has attended our endeavours, in ſpite of the en- " vious fate which purſued us. Excuſe me, my dear " companions, if I forbear to name the authors of our ſuf- " ferings; you know them; and the ſhame which they " ought to feel, at ſeeing themſelves diſcovered and de- " feated, is revenge ſufficient. The conduct to which I " have adhered in this iſland, is ſo well known to you, " that I need not ſpeak of our paſt ſufferings. You are " convinced that I have done my duty, in diminiſhing " them, by applying my own fortune to ſupply the wants " of the eſtabliſhment which we have formed. You, " yourſelves, by advancing the ſums you had received, " have ſupplied me with means of adminiſtring to the preſ- " ſing neceſſities which were ſo unjuſtly refuſed to be ſup- " plied, and without which we muſt have been entirely " reduced. As a recompence for my zeal and ſufferings, I " now find myſelf repaid by the blackeſt calumnies, on " the part of the iſle of France. There is no diſgraceful

" action

" action which they have not accuſed me of. Exclamations " are made againſt the exorbitant expences which are pre- " tended to have been made in this iſland, and againſt the " cruelties committed by me, or my order, againſt private " traders, by whom it has been publickly aſſerted, that they " were compelled to ſign certain writings, while a piſtol " was held at their breaſts. But the moſt mortifying cir- " cumſtance is, that every means has been uſed to perſuade " the public at the iſle of France, that ſufficient ſupplies " have been forwarded out of their treaſury, for the exi- " gencies of the ſervice of the troops here; but that I have " appropriated theſe ſums, and have left the ſoldiers with- " out reſource, overwhelmed with labour, and threatened " with every horror that tyranny can inflict. Theſe ma- " licious reports, in which every effort is made to deſtroy " my reputation, would give me no concern in any other " circumſtances. I ſhould look upon them with con- " tempt, if the hope of recovering from the illneſs which " I now ſuffer, could permit me to indulge the expecta- " tion of rendering an account of my conduct, at ſome " future period, to the King and his miniſters: but as I " am well aware of the dangerous conſequences which " may attend my preſent illneſs, and which every day " threatens to take me hence, I conjure you, gentlemen, " by your honour, to render that teſtimony to the truth, " which may fruſtrate the views of thoſe who are deſirous " of blackening my fame. As a ſoldier, and as a chief, you " know me from experience:—render to my name, when " I am no more, that juſtice which I have deſerved by my " conduct, and which you cannot refuſe.

" After

" After this ſhort recital of paſt circumſtances, I muſt " proceed to our preſent ſituation. With a view to ſecure " the eſtabliſhment till the arrival of new orders from Court, " and to prevent its ſuffering from external attacks, which " I foreſaw, I diſpatched the Poſtillion packet for France a " twelvemonth ago, in order to render an account of our po- " ſition at Court, and to requeſt ſupplies. In the mean time, " I have reclaimed the aſſiſtance of the iſle of France, pur- " ſuant to his Majeſty's orders, which you may ſee in the " letter which his miniſter wrote to the chiefs of that ſet- " tlement, and which I here produce to convince you of " the fact. You would doubtleſs have concluded, as I " did, that the ſupplies would ſpeedily have been for- " warded; but, alas! in reply, I received only a refuſal, " which I have hitherto concealed, with a view to avoid " giving you embarraſſment and diſquiet. This refuſal, in the " preſent juncture, is more particularly diſtreſſing, becauſe " I have already employed my whole property in the King's " ſervice, and am therefore incapable of adminiſtring to " our preſent wants. The ſtores are filled with uſeleſs ef- " fects, which have been ſent us from the iſle of France, " but are unprovided with the moſt neceſſary articles; the " treaſury is without money, and the troops without either " pay or cloathing. Such is our preſent ſituation, which " is deplorable indeed for men, who for two years inceſſant- " ly, without a pauſe of twenty-four hours, have been kept " in continual motion; and who, in the laſt war againſt " the iſlanders, have ſo valiantly diſtinguiſhed themſelves " under your conduct. The ſucceſs of this war, the event " of which has ſecured our good fortune and the tranquil- " lity of the country, has filled us with joy. We ought,

" therefore, to take advantage of the preſent good diſpoſi-
" tion of affairs, for the further encouragement, and raiſing
" the ſpirits of our ſoldiers: they are attached to us, gentle-
" men; nothing is impoſſible for them to attempt, under
" our direction. I conjure you, therefore, to animate
" them, by directing their minds to glory, which is the
" great mover of the French nation. An animated ſoldier,
" to whom his officer ſets the example, ſuffers with wil-
" lingneſs: I will even ſay more, he runs with avidity to
" the greateſt hardſhips. In this manner, therefore, you
" will ſucceed in keeping up the ordinary ſervice, which
" is urged by the different parties we are obliged to main-
" tain. With regard to the nine months pay due to your-
" ſelves and the troops, I will endeavour partly to diſ-
" charge it, by diſpoſing of my ſmall ſtock of neceſſaries
" to a private veſſel, which is now upon the coaſt. We
" may perhaps, likewiſe, by the ſame channel, ſupply our-
" ſelves with articles of trade, for the daily exigencies of
" the hoſpital. In this manner, ballancing our reſources
" againſt our misfortunes, we may hope for new orders
" from Court, which, according to all appearance, can-
" not be longer delayed than till the return of the Poſtil-
" lion. Beſides this, the ſpot we now inhabit being ren-
" dered more healthy by the works we have executed, will
" ſecure the health of thoſe who at preſent are tolerably
" well, and are not entirely exhauſted. Our experience
" this year confirms this probability. Laſt year we loſt
" one hundred and thirteen men; this year, the number
" of deaths is no more than eleven; which is a difference
" we have great reaſon to value ourſelves upon. We have
" expoſed ourſelves, by labouring for the advantage of

" others, who will enjoy, with ſafety and without fear, " the fruits of our exertions. No one will diſpute the " glory we poſſeſs, of having laboured for the common " good, at the peril of our lives.

" I ſhall now leave you, gentlemen, for a ſhort time, " to recover my exhauſted ſtrength. In the mean time, " you will conſult together upon the propereſt means to " be adopted in our preſent ſituation. It is unneceſſary to " obſerve, that it is by the orders of his Majeſty that we " have exerted ourſelves upon this ſpot; and that it is not " enough to have ſucceeded, but that it is likewiſe equally " neceſſary to preſerve the advantages we have acquired. " There is no difficulty which a determined courage cannot " overcome. Adieu, my friends; I leave you for an in- " ſtant." (Signed)

THE BARON DE BENYOWSKY,

With his paraph or flouriſh.

The commander being then exhauſted by his illneſs, retired, after exhorting the gentlemen preſent to conſult together, and lay their opinion before him. Whereupon the meeting deliberated, and determined to draw out their opinions in ſeparate articles, and ſubmit them to their commander in chief.

THE OPINIONS OF THE OFFICERS, WHICH THEY SUBMIT TO THEIR COMMANDER.

PRIMO. The officers of the corps of Volunteers, having attended to the ſpeech of their Commander, are unanimouſly

mouſly penetrated with grief to hear, that the zeal which he has ſhewn, and the numerous exertions he has made, at the expence of his fortune and health, in favour of all thoſe who have had the honour of ſerving under his orders, have been recompenſed by attempts to tarniſh his reputation, by acts of impoſture and the blackeſt calumny. As witneſſes of his conduct, they think it an act of duty and juſtice to proteſt ſolemnly, by the preſent reſolutions, againſt all the imputations and pretended malverſations. And they mutually engage and bind themſelves, in caſe of the deceaſe of their Commander, to repreſent this affair to his Majeſty and his miniſters.

2dly. They have the honour to repreſent to their Commander in Chief, that, after all the magnanimous efforts with which he has been pleaſed to maintain the royal eſtabliſhment, and corps of Volunteers, by furniſhing means for the ſupport of every individual hitherto, they ſhall conſider it an honour to follow the example of their Chief; and they intreat his permiſſion, that they may themſelves contribute a ſum, to be advanced to the treaſury, in order that they may by this means be conſidered as worthy his eſteem, and may contribute, to the utmoſt of their power, to the good of his Majeſty's ſervice.

3dly. With reſpect to the troops and the ſervice, they will omit nothing which may juſtify the opinion of their Commander; and they requeſt that, in conſideration of the ſmall number of men, he will withdraw the troops from the two intermediate poſts of Maſſoula and Mananhar, in order that the main body, being reinforced, may be better enabled to act in the vicinity of the chief ſettlement, and defend themſelves from the robberies which have been committed by vagabonds ſince the laſt war.

4thly. They reſpectfully entreat that the Commander in Chief will be pleaſed to conſider, that the arrival of a veſſel from Europe may be fruſtrated by ſeveral unforeſeen events, and that conſequently it would be very neceſſary to ſend a ſummons to the iſle of France, in the name of his Majeſty, to obtain a ſupply, as well of men as of money and effects for their ſubſiſtence.

5thly. The preſent meeting of officers, perceiving that the health of their Commander is greatly altered; and being likewiſe informed, by the ſurgeon-major, that it cannot but be ſtill more impaired by the fatigue and exertions which he continues to make, notwithſtanding their oppoſition; they take the liberty unanimouſly to entreat, that he will, for a certain time, deſiſt from this continued labour. They are more preſſing in this reſpect, as they are actuated by the impreſſion of that friendſhip, which he has ever been pleaſed to ſhew to the corps of Volunteers, as well as for the intereſts of the eſtabliſhment, in which he is bound to conſult the advantage of his Majeſty's ſervice, by forbearing to make exertions which tend to deprive the ſettlement of his future ſervices.

6thly. The officers, in the laſt place, take the liberty to repreſent, that, exhauſted as they are by paſt and preſent diſtreſſes, there is not one among them who does not feel his ſtrength greatly impaired, and that a change of garriſon is very neceſſary for the whole corps: they therefore depoſit their general intereſts in the hands of their Commander in Chief, and entreat that he will be pleaſed to intercede with his Majeſty and the miniſtry in favour of the corps, to procure them a juſt recompence, and a certain time to recover

ver themſelves from the exceſſive fatigues they have been oppreſſed with.

Signed with the following names.

DE MALLENDRE, with paraph;
LE CERF, with paraph;
PERTHUIS, Lieutenant;
LE CERTAIN, Lieutenant;
DE VEZIERS, Lieutenant;
DE LA BOULLAYE;
DES GRAVES, ſecond Lieutenant;
The Chevalier DE LA TOUR, ſecond Lieutenant;
LARMINA, Quartermaſter, with paraph;
ROZIERES, Lieutenant, performing the office of Secretary;
BESSE, Treaſurer, with paraph.

DECISION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE CORPS OF VOLUNTEERS OF BENYOWSKY.

PRIMO. The Commander in Chief being ſatisfied with the promiſe of the gentlemen officers of his corps, with regard to what concerns his reputation; and reclaiming only their viva voce teſtimonies, in caſe of his premature deceaſe, reſerves himſelf in perſon to clear himſelf of all calumnious imputations, and to carry his complaints to the foot of his Majeſty's throne.

2dly. The Commander in Chief will take the firſt opportunity of forwarding a ſummons to the chief of the iſle

of France, to obtain the ſupplies neceſſary for the ſubſiſtance of the eſtabliſhment.

3dly. The Commander in Chief will diſtribute among the officers the ſeveral departments of daily employment, that he may be enabled to repoſe himſelf. He likewiſe declares, that, having diſpoſed of every particular of buſineſs relating to the ſettlement, as well as to his own private affairs, they will find, in caſe of his deceaſe, his laſt Will, ſealed up in the box marked A, which is in his cabinet, which is placed in the office: the ſame box contains ſeveral papers addreſſed to the miniſter, and an order in the King's name, which enjoins that gentleman, who, by his rank among the officers, ſhall be entitled to ſucceed him, to conform, until new orders from Court, to the inſtructions he will find annexed to the order. By this proviſion, the officers in command will avoid that embarraſſment which otherwiſe might become of great conſequence to the eſtabliſhment. He therefore exhorts them to arm themſelves with courage, to ſupport the intereſts of their maſter; and as they have all faced death to acquire glory, ſo at preſent it becomes them nobly to ſubmit to ſuffering and diſtreſs, in order to maintain it.

4thly. The gentlemen officers of the corps of Volunteers, are requeſted to form a ſum of twelve thouſand livres, to be remitted to the treaſury, for the payment of the troops; and the Commander in Chief engages to furniſh a like ſum, for the purchaſe of different effects and merchandize, for the ſubſiſtence of the hoſpitals, and daily exigencies.

5thly. The poſts of Maſſoula and Mananhar ſhall be withdrawn, to reinforce the chief ſettlement, and to defend

fend the cultivated lands of the allied natives from the devaſtation and fire of the vagabonds.

6thly. The Commander in Chief will forward his preſſing repreſentations to the miniſter, concerning the diſtreſſes and fatigues which his corps have endured; and will demand, for the refreſhment of the ſaid corps, a garriſon better calculated for their recovery, in the internal part of the iſland.

7thly. An act, in form, ſhall be drawn out, of the proceedings of this preſent aſſembly of the officers of the corps of Volunteers, which ſhall conſiſt of three parts, one of which ſhall be forwarded to the miniſter, the ſecond to the iſle of France, with the ſummons, and the third ſhall be depoſited in the archieves of the corps.

Done in our general camp on the iſland of Madagaſcar, the twenty-fifth of September, 1775.

Signed,

The BARON DE BENYOWSKY, Colonel and Commander in Chief of the French ſettlements on the iſland of Madagaſcar;
DE MALLENDRE, with paraph;
LE CERF, Captain, with paraph;
PERTHUIS, Lieutenant;
LE CERTAIN, Lieutenant;
DE LA BOULLAYE;
DES GRAVES, ſecond Lieutenant;
The Chevalier DE LA TOUR, ſecond Lieutenant;
DE LARMINA, Quartermaſter;
ROZIERES, Lieutenant, performing the office of Secretary;—and
BESSE, Treaſurer.

AT

THE PIECE *L. X. X.*

AT A COUNCIL OF THE OFFICERS OF THE CORPS OF VOLUNTEERS OF BENYOWSKY, CONVENED BY ORDER OF THE BARON DE BENYOWSKY.

April the 1ſt, 1776. Preſent in council convened by order of the Baron de Benyowſky, Colonel of the regiment named after him, and Commander in Chief of the French eſtabliſhment on the iſland of Madagaſcar; namely, the Chevalier de Sanglier, Captain; De Mallendre, Captain; Perthuis, firſt Lieutenant; Corbi, ſecond Lieutenant; De La Boullaye, ſecond Lieutenant; the Chevalier de La Tour, ſecond Lieutenant; Larmina, Quartermaſter; Evali, Enſign; Rozieres, performing the office of Engineer; Mayeur, Lieutenant, and firſt interpreter of the eſtabliſhment; Beſſiere, performing the office of Secretary; and Beſſe, invited to be preſent in the aſſembly, in quality of principal officer of the Adminiſtration, in lieu of principal Storekeeper or Commiſſary. The Baron de Benyowſky being preſident at this Council; and Meſſrs. Le Certain and De La Boullaye, ſenior, Lieutenant, being abſent; the former detached to the iſle of France, and the latter being commander at Foul Point.

The Baron de Benyowſky opened the meeting with the following ſpeech:

"I have called you together, gentlemen, to conſult "upon the critical circumſtances of our ſituation, the ſe- "curity of our poſts, and the preſervation of the ſeveral "provinces

" provinces allied to the ſettlement, as well as the part " which it becomes us to take in the preſent ſituation with " regard to the war with the Seclaves; whoſe chief, having " declared war againſt the French ſtandard, has already " commenced hoſtilities, by ravaging the people who are " allied by oath to the eſtabliſhment, and who, if unaſſiſted " by us, may be compelled by force to yield to our ene- " mies, and become ſubject to them. All theſe circum- " ſtances require the utmoſt attention of the ſettlement; " and that more eſpecially, as their increaſe will threaten " us with the loſs of the fruits of all the laborious exertions " we have made for the ſpace of three years; and as " they happen at a time when the forces of the eſtabliſh- " ment are exhauſted. Theſe poſitions, therefore, require " a minute diſcuſſion, in order that we may form a well- " digeſted plan; and that, without having the raſh- " neſs to face every event, we may exert that courage " which will be ſufficient to anſwer our purpoſes; and by " collecting our forces, we may maintain our labours with " glory, and crown them by the titles of brave ſoldiers, " and faithful ſervants of the King who has employed us.

" It is unneceſſary to enumerate, at preſent, the vari- " ous checks and vexations to which we have ſo unjuſtly " been ſubjected, and which have placed the ſettlement in " the moſt unhappy and critical ſituation, and reduced " our people to a ſtate of extreme weakneſs. All theſe " circumſtances are well known to you, as we diſcuſſed " them in the laſt meeting, held on the 25th of Septem- " ber, 1775, and provided a temporary remedy, in the " hope of ſpeedy aſſiſtance either from the iſle of France " or from Europe. But, ſince that period, ſix months have

" elapſed, and the ſmall aſſiſtance we have derived from " the iſle of France being ſcarcely ſufficient to main- " tain us until this time, our diſtreſſes cannot but increaſe, " and muſt at laſt overwhelm us. At preſent it is neceſſary " to oppoſe them with determined courage. For this pur- " poſe, let us ſuppoſe that the ſupplies, though daily ex- " pected, are ſtill far from their arrival; let us make our " account from the actual ſituation of things; let us cal- " culate the forces we really poſſeſs, and upon this eſtimate " let us decide what conduct is the moſt proper to be held. " Our own aſſurance of having employed all the reſources " of our courage, in the ſervice of his Majeſty, will be an " ample recompenſe for our labours.

" If we conſider the number which uſually compoſes a " troop, and look to ourſelves, we ſhall ſee only a feeble " remnant, worn out by the ſevere preſſure of long and " aſſiduous fatigue; ſcarcely equal to the ordinary ſervice; " no longer daring to quit their forts and retrenchments.— " But it is a conſequence of that valorous ſpirit, which " ought to be natural to a ſoldier, that we ſhould raiſe our " courage beyond that of common minds: the more the " viciſſitudes of events oppreſs and overwhelm us, the " more it becomes us to collect our force and firmneſs. " Bound as we are by the ties of honour, and of duty, " to juſtify the confidence of the Court, which has ap- " pointed us to form a ſolid eſtabliſhment in this iſland, " we can do no otherwiſe than reſolve to vanquiſh and ſubdue " all obſtacles. Three years have now elapſed ſince we bad " adieu to the pleaſures of a life of tranquillity; we have " familiarized ourſelves to hardſhips, labours, and war, " and we have withſtood the rigours of this unwholeſome

" climate. Thouſands of enemies, whom we have con-
" quered and diſperſed, have acquired us that reputation
" through the whole extent of this vaſt iſland, which has
" procured the alliances of more than one third of its whole
" people.---What riſque then ſhall we now run, by dividing
" our troops, and appointing one half to guard our poſts,
" which are fortified and provided with artillery ; while the
" other half takes the field, and carries terror to the ene-
" my, keeps the neutral powers in reſpect, and preſerves
" the allies of the ſettlement ? Such an engagement, well
" made, may open to us reſources we have hitherto been
" unacquainted with. The ſupplies, ſo long expected,
" will at laſt arrive, and then every difficulty and obſtacle
" will be ſurmounted. The troops, when reinforced, will
" reſume their primitive vigour ; and having kept the ene-
" my in check, they will then entirely deſtroy them. The
" ſtorehouſes being furniſhed, will increaſe the confidence
" of the natives of the country; who having, ſince our ar-
" rival here, been amuſed with mere promiſes, and ſeeing
" no ſupplies arrive, may join the Seclaves, the only na-
" tion which remains for us to fight and ſubdue; becauſe
" its natural obſtinacy will never ſuffer them to be ſurpriſed
" by negotiation, and becauſe they neglect no opportunity
" of engaging all the other nations of the iſland in their in-
" tereſt, either by promiſe or threats. We have therefore
" only the ſtrength of our arms, and our ſuperiority in the
" art of war, to oppoſe againſt them. To purchaſe peace
" is contrary to the character of the French ; and would,
" beſides, diminiſh our reputation, and debaſe us in the
" eyes of all the nations of this iſland, who would revolt,
" when they ſaw us undecided and embarraſſed in our pro-

" ceedings with one national one; whereas ſeveral nations
" have been reduced at the mere ſight of us, and have not
" dared to collect their forces in oppoſition to our enter-
" prizes, but have all attached themſelves, by treaty, to
" the ſettlement. Their attachment muſt be preſerved by
" civilization, and juſtice duly adminiſtered to them.
" The mild treatment they have received from us, and the
" aſſiſtance we have given them againſt their enemies, have
" ſecured their eſteem; and, forgetting the name of foreigner,
" they now behold in us the friend and the ally. But the
" inſtant we refuſe to aſſiſt them againſt the Seclaves, and
" they loſe that reſpect for us which fear produces, they
" will indubitably arrange themſelves on the ſtronger ſide,
" and encreaſe that force.

" All theſe circumſtances, gentlemen, require a ſpeedy
" deciſion, on our part, in order that we may act in the
" moſt becoming and certain manner. As far as I can ſee
" into our ſituation, and the poſition in which we ſtand
" with regard to the natives, we cannot diſpenſe with en-
" tering into the war againſt the Seclaves. It is therefore an
" object of diſcuſſion, whether we ought to confine our-
" ſelves merely to the defence of the frontiers of our allies, in
" conjunction with them, or whether we ought to begin
" an offenſive war, by entering into their country: for it
" is impoſſible for us to remain in our forts, and behind our
" entrenchments, in a ſtate of expectation, until our ene-
" mies come upon us. We ſhould by that means ex-
" poſe our allies, who dwell on their frontiers, to conti-
" nual ravages and ſlavery, and the eſtabliſhment will
" not be able to clear itſelf of the blame, as it is engaged to
" ſupport its allies againſt all the attempts of their enemies.

" Theſe

" Theſe are juſt reaſons, which ought to determine us " to take the field, and to carry the war to the frontier " of the Seclaves. By this manœuvre, we ſhall cover our " own poſſeſſions, with thoſe of our allies, and we ſhall " be in a ſituation, on the arrival of the firſt ſupply of men, " in conſequence of the knowledge we ſhall have acquired " of the country, and of the means neceſſary to be em- " ployed againſt the enemy, to attack them in our turn, " ſubdue them, and compel them to accept of ſuch terms " as we ſhall preſcribe.

" After having thus given a detail to you, gentlemen, " of our preſent circumſtances, and communicated my " views, I requeſt that you will diſcuſs the part which it " is neceſſary to take in an enterprize of ſuch delicacy, " and let me know your ſentiments without delay."

Done at Louiſbourg, April 1, 1778.

Signed,

The BARON DE BENYOWSKY.

The corps of officers of the Volunteers, after having maturely conſidered and diſcuſſed the ſteps practicable to be taken, to prevent the inconveniences probably to ariſe from the violence of the enemies which threaten the eſtabliſhment, perceive no better than to take the field immediately, and to carry the war to the frontiers of the Seclaves; and in this manner to keep the enemy in continual movement, until the arrival of the final orders of his Majeſty, and the ſupplies, which cannot fail to arrive ſoon. They are confident in affirming, that though the number of the troops,

troops, to be divided for the ſervice of war, and the defence of the chief ſettlement and out-poſts, be ſmall, yet the valour and courage of each company will juſtify the opinion of the Commander in Chief; and that the corps deſires nothing more ardently, than to receive orders which may give them an opportunity of performing their duty in a manner worthy of themſelves.

With regard to the alternative of an offenſive or defenſive war, the corps of officers, not being deſirous of anticipating the will of their Commander, will always follow with ſpirit the deciſion he ſhall make, and upon which the ſucceſs of the campaign will probably depend.

Done this 1ſt of April, 1776, at the general câmp of Louiſbourg.

Signed,

The Chevalier SANGLIER;
DE MALLENDRE;
LE CERF;
DE LA BOULLAYE;
DES GREVES;
CORBI;
The Chevalier DE LA TOUR;
ROZIERES;
MAYEUR;
LARMINA;
EVALI;—and
BESSE.

ESTABLISH-

ESTABLISHMENT AT MADAGASCAR.

ADMINISTRATION GENERAL AND PARTICULAR.

* Demands, Obſervations, and Queſtions, propoſed to the Baron de Benyowſky, Colonel and Commander of the Eſtabliſhments of his Majeſty, the King of France, upon the iſland of Madagaſcar, by Meſſrs. De Bellecombe and Chevreau, by virtue of the powers veſted in them, as Inſpectors and Commiſſaries for his Majeſty upon the ſaid iſland of Madagaſcar.

ARTICLE I.

WE demand of the Baron de Benyowſky, that he do communicate to us the original of the orders of the King, with the diſpatches and inſtructions of the miniſter, by virtue of which he came to take poſſeſſion, in his Majeſty's name, to form an eſtabliſhment and command at Madagaſcar, at the place called the Bay of Antongil; and alſo the ordonnance for creating a corps of Volunteers, in his name,

* This appears to be the piece *L. X. A.* referred to at page 256 of the preſent volume, though the mark is omitted in the manuſcript. In the original, the Queſtions and Replies are arranged in columns oppoſite each other; but I have, for the convenience of printing, ſubjoined each Anſwer to the Queſtion, which precedes it. NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

which

which bears date the 30th October, 1772; and a communication of the diſpatches and correſpondences of the marine and colonies, and of Meſſrs. the chiefs of the Adminiſtration of the iſle of France.

Anſwer to ARTICLE I.

I have the honour to preſent to Meſſrs. the commiſſaries, hereunto annexed, under cover *L. A.* the orders of Court, which they demand, and alſo the ordonnance of my corps, and my correſpondence with the miniſters and the chiefs of the Adminiſtration of the iſle of France. As I received no orders to take any poſſeſſion in the iſland of Madagaſcar, I have confined myſelf to the eſtabliſhment of poſts, for the facilitation of trade, and the cultivation of the ground; and have formed connections and treaties of friendſhip and mutual intereſt with the natives of the country, who have voluntarily granted the lands upon which the different forts and the chief ſettlement are ſituated.

ARTICLE II.

We demand of the Baron de Benyowſky, an accurate and full ſtatement, or liſt, by name, of the officers, ſubalterns, and volunteers, people employed, ſea-faring men, and other ſubjects of his Majeſty whomſoever, that have been ſubject to his orders at Madagaſcar, or who are at this preſent time under his command; together with their places of reſidence, and reſpective functions.

Anſwer to ARTICLE II.

I have the honour to preſent to Meſſrs. the commiſſaries, the regiſter of the corps of Volunteers, in order that they may

may receive information of the names of all the ſoldiers who came hither with me, or have been enrolled either in the military or ſea ſervice ſince that time, and thoſe who are at preſent actually under my orders. The marginal notes indicate their places of reſidence, and their functions. As to the perſons who are employed in the Adminiſtration, their regiſters will exhibit their number, and other particulars. *L. B.*

ARTICLE III.

We likewiſe demand another accurate and full ſtatement, or liſt by name, of all the officers, ſubalterns, and Volunteers, people employed, ſea-faring men, or other ſubjects of his Majeſty, who have either died, or have departed, together with the day of their death, or deſertion, from the commencement of the eſtabliſhment until the preſent day: and as it is very intereſting to their families to poſſeſs the titles and accounts of ſuch as have died or deſerted, we demand details for each individual man, inventories, verbal proceſſes of ſales, and accounts of the ſucceſſion of each; in order to tranſmit the ſame to the miniſter, who has expreſsly inſtructed us on this head, as well as on that of remitting the reſpective amounts, in bills of exchange, to France.

Anſwer to ARTICLE III.

Liſts of all the perſons who have died upon this iſland, ſince the formation of the ſettlement, are hereunto annexed, *L. C.* With regard to the inventories and produce of the ſucceſſion of thoſe who have died, and were of the military, I have remitted to the miniſter the amount, in bills of exchange, with inventories of ſales, agreeably to his orders.

I here ſpeak only of the military, as I have no concern with thoſe who have been employed in the Adminiſtration.

ARTICLE IV.

What is the preſent ſtate of his Majeſty's treaſury and ſtores, at Madagaſcar? We demand of the Baron de Benyowſky, to preſent to us, or to cauſe the perſons accountable (the treaſurer and ſtorekeeper) to preſent to us, liſts or inventories, ſigned by him and them, of the nett reſidue in hand, at the time of our arrival.

Anſwer to ARTICLE IV.

The caſh and ſtores, at Madagaſcar, having been entruſted, ſince the departure of Mr. Des Aſſiſes, the principal ſtorekeeper, to Mr. Aumont, the principal ſtorekeeper, and to Mr. Beſſe; the liſts and inventories will aſcertain its ſituation. The treaſury and ſtores have been ſupplied, for three years paſt, only by advances I have made.

ARTICLE V.

What are the public works, ſuch as roads or canals, begun or finiſhed: what are the fortifications and civil buildings, erected upon his Majeſty's account, in the iſland of Madagaſcar, ſince the arrival of the Baron de Benyowſky? We demand a full ſtatement, with values annexed; and likewiſe an account of the artillery and warlike ſtores attached to the ſettlement.

Does not the iſland of Madagaſcar afford all the neceſſary materials, ſuch as lime-ſtones, bricks, and wood, for every kind of building?

Anſwer

Anſwer to ARTICLE V.

The public works, roads, fortifications, and civil erections, made by my orders, on account of his Majeſty, will appear by the engineer's ſtatement, who is charged with this department. I have the honour to preſent this ſtatement, under cover *L. D.*; and alſo a full account of the artillery and ammunition of war.

The iſland of Madagaſcar affords bricks, lime-ſtones, wood in planks, as well for exportation, as for every kind of building.

ARTICLE VI.

We likewiſe demand of the Baron de Benyowſky, a communication of all the regiſters of receipts and diſburſements whatever, made on the iſland of Madagaſcar, and on the occaſion of the ſeveral poſts which he has eſtabliſhed ſince his arrival; together with a table of compariſon of all the ſums he received in Europe, at the iſle of France, and at Madagaſcar, under what title and denomination ſoever they may have been received; whether ſince he was appointed colonel and chief of this great undertaking; whether in effects of trade, ſilver, piaſtres, calebaſhes, paper money, or letters of exchange; with all the expenditures and conſumptions, of what nature ſoever they may be.

Anſwer to ARTICLE VI.

I have the honour to preſent to the commiſſaries, a general ſtatement of the balance of debits and credits, drawn out in the month of May, in the preſent year. The diſburſements ſince made, will be eaſily known by the regiſ-

ters of the treaſury. The ſtatement ſhews, that the receipt, until the arrival of the commiſſaries, amounted only to ſix hundred and forty thouſand livres: and the piece *B.* contains expences; the amount of which forms the ſum of two million nine hundred eighty-three thouſand one hundred eighty-ſix livres, ſeven ſols, and eleven deniers, of which ſum the royal treaſury is indebted to me four hundred and fifteen thouſand livres. By comparing theſe two ſtatements, the commiſſaries will be convinced, that the ſum of one million ſeven hundred twenty-eight thouſand one hundred and eighty-ſix livres has been procured by commerce, and the voluntary preſents of the natives of the country.

ARTICLE VII.

To what ſum per month do the whole expences, made up on the account of his Majeſty, in the bay of Antongil, and the other ſettlements dependant thereon, amount to, reckoning from the firſt of October, in the actual ſtate of affairs? We requeſt the Baron de Benyowſky to ſupply us with accounts at large, diſtinguiſhing the different nature of the expences under theſe heads:

Effective troops;

Adminiſtration—the perſons employed, and other ſervants, whether black or white men, who receive wages;

Hoſpitals;

Marine;

The maintenance of public buildings;

Subſiſtence;

What is the manner of paying theſe expences; in money, in paper-money, in letters of exchange, or in articles of trade?

Anſwer

Anſwer to ARTICLE VII.

In the actual ſtate of the corps of Volunteers, their ſubſiſtence and pay will amount to the ſum of eleven thouſand eight hundred and ſixty livres.

Adminiſtration.---With regard to the ſubſiſtence and pay of thoſe employed in this department, and other Europeans who receive wages, I can ſpeak nothing, as their quantum is regulated by the chief of the Adminiſtration.

Hoſpitals.---Coſt per month, one thouſand eight hundred livres.

Marine.---About two thouſand livres.

Maintenance of public buildings.---Value in merchandize, one thouſand ſix hundred livres.

Blacks in his Majeſty's pay.---Value in merchandize, nine hundred livres.

The moſt ready manner of acquitting theſe expences, is to pay in money, which being laid out in the purchaſe of neceſſaries at the ſtorehouſes, will of courſe return into the treaſury: by this means, the proviſion of ſubſiſtence will diminiſh; their conſumption will be more proportioned to the ſtate of each individual, and the ſpecie will either be kept in circulation, or return into the treaſury, by the ſale of effects from the ſtorehouſes.

ARTICLE VIII.

The trade for rice and cattle being, by the account we have received at the iſle of France, one of the motives which have determined Government to form an eſtabliſhment at the iſle of Madagaſcar, we demand of the Baron de Benyowſky, what are the cauſes of the want of ſucceſs hitherto; and

and why the iſle of France has not been ſupplied with theſe two objects, rice and cattle, for three years paſt; eſpecially after the conſiderable remittances which have been made in articles of trade for this purpoſe?

We demand accounts of the conſignments he has made to the iſle of France, in ſlaves, cattle, and rice; and alſo an account of the ſale of theſe three articles, which he may have made to individuals on the King's account.

Anſwer to ARTICLE VIII.

The cauſe of the want of ſucceſs in ſupplying the iſle of France in rice and cattle, can only be attributed to the ill will which the chief of the Adminiſtration of the iſle of France has ſhewn towards the ſettlement at Madagaſcar. The firſt conſignment which he made in piece goods and muſquets, the only articles neceſſary for the rice trade, was ſcarcely ſufficient to pay the firſt expences of the neceſſary things required for the foundation of this eſtabliſhment. Moreover, he has never ſatisfied the demands, which I have repeatedly made, to furniſh articles of trade. The invoices of his conſignments, which I have the honour to preſent to the commiſſaries, under the mark *L. E.* will juſtify my aſſertions. Beſides which, although I have often repeated to the chiefs of the iſle of France, that rice and cattle were in great plenty, they have for a long time left me ignorant of their diſpoſition in this reſpect; until at length they declared, that they renounced all theſe ſupplies. Their correſpondence, which I have the honour to preſent to Meſſrs. the commiſſaries, will evidently convince them of this aſſertion. Beſides which, with regard to the article of trade, I cannot enter too minutely into it, becauſe this part was under

under the care of Mr. Des Aſſiſſes, the commiſſary and ſub-delegate, who naturally muſt have poſſeſſed inſtructions *ad hoc*. The correſpondence of this adminiſtrator with the chiefs of the iſle of France, muſt itſelf juſtify my aſſertions, that the trade of rice, ſlaves, and cattle, and the neceſſary ſupplies, have been neglected by the fault of the iſle of France. I again requeſt the commiſſaries to examine the invoices of the conſignments from the iſle of France to the eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar; and I hope they will then acknowledge, that the ſupplies have certainly not been conſiderable.

The papers of the Adminiſtration muſt contain details of the conſignments made to the iſle of France, in ſlaves, cattle, and rice; and likewiſe of the ſales of theſe three articles made to private traders, on the King's account. This department being abſolutely foreign to my charge, and Mr. Maillart having required me to leave the entire diſpoſition of the ſame to his ſub-delegate, I am not acquainted with the detail, excepting ſo far as it was neceſſary for me to render myſelf acquainted with it, to develope the motives which determined Mr. Maillart ſo earneſtly to counteract my operations.

ARTICLE IX.

What number of men does the Baron apprehend to be neceſſary as a garriſon, to maintain themſelves in the chief place, which he has choſen, and its dependencies?

Anſwer to ARTICLE IX.

I am at a loſs to reply to the commiſſioners queſtions, contained in their ninth article, being entirely ignorant under

under what point of view the ſettlement at Madagaſcar is conſidered. I ſhall aſſume three:—

1ſt. The eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar, may be conſidered as intended to acquire the dominion of this vaſt iſland, to form a ſolid colony of Europeans, which, when once maſter of the whole iſland, will form a part of the power of the parent ſtate; and by its natural fertility, will ſupply the indiſpenſible wants of the other French colonies, by including in itſelf a military force, may be advantageouſly employed againſt the enemies of the parent country in India. The conduct of the miniſter, and the miſſion of the commiſſaries, induce me to make this digreſſion.

2dly. The eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar, may be conſidered as a pacific military poſt, intended to gain the confidence of the natives of the country; to form treaties of friendſhip and commerce with them; to ſecure the trade which the merchants might carry on in this iſland; and to watch over and regulate them, in order that the trade of private veſſels may not, in future, occaſion thoſe irregularities and diſorders, of which formerly there exiſted ſo many examples.

3dly. The eſtabliſhment may likewiſe be conſidered under the point of view of being tolerated by the natives, and under this head I cannot explain myſelf.

Upon which of theſe three principles the miniſter may conſider it as moſt expedient to found the eſtabliſhment, muſt reſt with your own opinions, gentlemen. My operations and labours have hitherto been directed to form the eſtabliſhment upon a fundamental baſis, which is the ſecond of the three points of view which I have propoſed: I have purſued it, and can venture to aſſert, that the means

which

which I have employed, have been neceſſary for its ſucceſs; the particular inſtructions of the Court have led me to it: I have the honour to preſent theſe to the commiſſaries, and beg that they will pleaſe to examine their purport.

ARTICLE X.

What are the chief places or poſts upon the coaſt, or in the interior parts of the iſland, which depend upon the principal ſettlement? In what ſituation are they with reſpect to public buildings, or erections; more eſpecially that called the Plain of Health; what advantage is derived from them, or what uſeful purpoſe do they anſwer?

Is it eaſy to croſs the iſland from eaſt to weſt, from the Bay of Antongil to Bambetok?

What poſts has the Baron eſtabliſhed to ſecure the communication?

Anſwer to ARTICLE X.

The chief places and poſts, dependant on the principal ſettlement eſtabliſhed at the Bay of Antongil, are fort St. John, fort Auguſtus, Antſirac, Mananhar, Maſſoula, fort St. Maurice at Angontzi, Fenerif, fort Francis at Foul Point, and the ſettlement, or factory, at Tamatava. As the commiſſaries have inſpected the works at Louiſbourg, fort St. John, and fort Auguſtus or the Plain of Health, it is unneceſſary to deſcribe them. The others conſiſt of palliſades, ſurrounding houſes, built after the country faſhion, for the neceſſary lodging. Each poſt has its advantage with regard to trade; but my principal object in eſtabliſhing them, was to ſecure ſuch poſts as, by their ſituation, might render us maſters of the trade of the country, by ſe-

curing the navigation of the principal rivers. The ſituation in which the commiſſaries now find me, by taking the ſecond principle as the baſis of my ſettlement, will ſhew the propriety of my operations. The paſſage from eaſt to weſt, is eaſy; and its difficulties may be removed by a very moderate exertion of force. This operation having been one of the principal parts of my plan, I have begun it; but the want of force has checked my exertions. There are five poſts to ſecure this communication; but as I thought proper to give up to the chiefs in alliance with the eſtabliſhment, the poſts of Ranoumena, Antangnin, and Angonum, I have kept only two, namely, that of fort St. John, and that of the Plain.

ARTICLE XI.

What is the name of the chief of the territory upon which our ſettlement is formed; what is the extent of his dominions; do we poſſeſs property in land, or conceſſions acquired, or in farm, at the bay of Antongil, and the dependant poſts? In this caſe we requeſt the Baron de Benyowſky to communicate to us the titles.

Anſwer to ARTICLE XI.

The name of the prince who formerly poſſeſſed the ground, which he voluntarily ceded to form our ſettlement, is Sianique. The extent of the poſſeſſion of the place is one half league, included between the harbour and the great river. The chiefs reſide in the town which I have formed, but their habitations are in the interior parts of the iſland. The property of the province of Antimaron belongs to the natives of the country; but they willingly

ſurrender

ſurrender up lands, to engage the Europeans to ſettle among them, and cultivate the waſte grounds. Meſſrs. the commiſſaries, may more particularly inform themſelves in this reſpect, at the approaching aſſembly of the chiefs of the province, which I have invited, by their orders.

ARTICLE XII.

We demand a full liſt of the names of the principal Madagaſcar chiefs, who have acknowledged the authority of his Majeſty, and have become tributary. What does the annual tribute conſiſt of, to which they have ſubmitted? What receipts have been made for his Majeſty of theſe different tributes, or annual acknowledgments?

We demand of the Baron de Benyowſky, that he do convene, within the courſe of eight days, theſe different tributary chiefs, in order that we may ourſelves aſſure them of the protection of his Majeſty.

Anſwer to ARTICLE XII.

None of the chiefs have acknowledged the authority of the King; but they have attached themſelves to us and the ſettlement, by treaties: their names are as follow;—Sianique, Mandingue, Raoul, Diamanongue, Manon, Manongamanon, Diamandrine; theſe chiefs have fifty other chiefs ſubordinate to them, who are all of the province of Antimarou: Raffene, a Sambarive chief, eſtabliſhed at the village of Antianak, with four other chiefs; Raffangour, Cievi, Sancé, Dame, principal chiefs of the Sambarives, of Mananhar, having forty chiefs ſubordinate to them, of the people of Antavavi, Antivoitchou, Antivohibey, and Antimokol;

mokol; Lambarante, with twelve other chiefs, of the province of Laontoufou; France, Siloulout, with twenty chiefs, eſtabliſhed at Rantanbay; King Hiavi, with fifty chiefs, of the province of Foul Point, and Tamatava; Ramaraombe, Diamaſſe, with thirty chiefs, of the province of the Antiſambarives to the eaſtward; Rafidumoine, Diafaiche, Diaboulmaſſou, with thirty chiefs, of the province of Angontzi; Lambouin, chief of the northern part of the iſland, with his family, conſiſting of twenty chiefs, at Voemara.

The chiefs and people of Madagaſcar pay no tribute to the eſtabliſhment, but I have procured revenues to the ſettlement, under the title of ſubſidies: they conſiſt of rice, cattle, and ſome ſlaves. Before the laſt war of Antimaron, the chiefs furniſhed, each for his own village, eight gamelles of rice, and four oxen. I have uſually accepted the value in timber, planks and ſlaves, as the accounts of the ſtores will ſhew. The amount of the ſubſidies for this fourth year, is nine hundred and forty-two thouſand livres.

The chiefs ſhall be aſſembled on the day fixed by the commiſſaries.

ARTICLE XIII.

What treaties, or reciprocal engagements, ſubſiſt between the French nation and the different Madagaſcar chiefs?

What places do theſe laſt inhabit, and what are their forces, and credit?

What is the nature of their revenues? Are they acquainted with the right of property in land?

Have

Have we any alliance with the King of the Seclaves, who is ſaid to be the moſt powerful, and moſt warlike, of all the Madagaſcar chiefs?

Anſwer to ARTICLE XIII.

I have the honour to preſent to Meſſrs. the commiſſaries, the treaties and mutual engagements between the iſlanders and the French: they form only three articles;—1ſt. That the Madagaſcar nations ſhall permit freedom of trade in their country, and the erection of habitations wherever the ground is uncultivated: they willingly grant lands to the French. 2dly. That they ſhall ſupport the French ſettlements againſt all the enterprizes of their enemies. 3dly. That the French ſhall in no wiſe interfere in the private intereſts of the natives, unleſs they ſhall be required to act as mediators.

The forces of all the chiefs allied to the eſtabliſhment, may be eſtimated at one hundred and twenty-three thouſand warriors: this number varies according to the abundance of their harveſts. Their revenues conſiſt of ſugar, tobacco, indigo, cotton, rice, ſlaves, and cattle.

They are acquainted with the right of property; and a chief can be diſpoſſeſſed no otherwiſe than by the courſe of inheritance, or the chance of war.

We have formed an alliance with the chief of the Seclaves; but the chiefs which are ſubordinate to him, having interfered in the war of Antimaron againſt the eſtabliſhment, I have declared war againſt him, until he ſhall diſavow this proceeding, and render juſtice to the eſtabliſhment upon the chiefs who have taken up arms againſt our friends. The Seclaves, though they are very brave in war, have never poſſeſſed any ſuperiority over the reſt of the nation.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XIV.

Is there any national militia, or natives of the country, who have voluntarily ſubmitted, as defenders of the ſettlement, to the orders of the Baron de Benyowſky? What is their number? How are they collected together? Under what conditions have they engaged in our ſervice? Is it practicable, in caſe of need, to tranſport the free natives, of Madagaſcar, into India, to be employed in war?

Why did the Baron de Benyowſky adopt the project of introducing into the iſland of Madagaſcar, black ſlaves, purchaſed at Mozambique on his Majeſty's account, as he has explained himſelf in his correſpondence with the iſle of France?

Anſwer to ARTICLE XIV.

In the infancy of the eſtabliſhment, I kept a troop of armed natives in pay, who ſerved in ſeveral excurſions I cauſed my officers to make, upon diſcovery and obſervation in the internal parts of the iſland; but not having received the orders I demanded of the miniſter to this effect, and finding them to become chargeable, as I had no need of them ſince the commencement of this year, I have diſmiſſed them, and have ſubſtituted in their place, black ſlaves from Mozambique, belonging to his Majeſty, whoſe number though ſmall, in the preſent ſituation of the eſtabliſhment, may be ſufficient in caſe of neceſſity.

The free blacks may likewiſe be employed in war; they may be had to the number of three, four, five, and ſix thouſand from each province. Their diſcipline conſiſts in obedience, without reſtriction; they are collected together by

by ſending a ſignal, which they know to belong to me. Their arms are muſquets and ſagayes. Their terms of engaging are, a muſquet for forty days, and their proviſions. Mr. La Bourdonnais and Mr. Laly, tranſported the free natives of this country to India, to ſerve in the war; but as the governors, inſtead of recompenſing them, reduced them to ſlavery, I dare not promiſe that they will conſent to leave their country, until their confidence in the French nation ſhall be again reſtored. The project of introducing Mozambique ſlaves into Madagaſcar, naturally preſented itſelf, on account of the impoſſibility of their running away. As they are ſtrangers in this country, they are more laborious; beſides which, their aſſiſtance cannot be diſpenſed with in the ſugar and indigo works.

ARTICLE XV.

Is it with pleaſure that the inhabitants of Madagaſcar ſee us eſtabliſhed among them? Would coloniſts from the iſle of France, or Bourbon, if tranſported by Government to this iſland, be in any danger of being diſturbed by the natives; or, on the contrary, would they be ſo far ſatisfied as to profit by our arts, and induſtry?

Anſwer to ARTICLE XV.

Meſſrs. the commiſſaries, will have an opportunity of aſcertaining, in the aſſembly of the chiefs, whether the natives of Madagaſcar look with pleaſure upon the French, who are eſtabliſhed among them. French coloniſts tranſported hither, to form an European ſettlement, would be in perfect ſafety, throughout the whole extent of the iſland,

iſland, provided the colonial government made no attempts upon the liberty of the nation. The natives of Madagaſcar deſire their preſence, and their induſtry would increaſe by emulation. It is only by example that we can ſucceed in bringing the Madagaſcar people to ſubmit to our regular form of government, and become civilized.

ARTICLE XVI.

What is the character of the people who live in the country round about the bay of Antongil?

Are they ſurrounded by nations, or numerous people, who are powerful rivals, enemies, or friends?

Are they ſedentary; cultivators of the land; warriors? Have they any trade? With whom, and in what conſiſts this commerce? Is the country wooded? To what uſes can this wood be applied? What are the productions of the land; whether ſpontaneous, or by cultivation? Would corn thrive at the bay of Antongil?

Anſwer to ARTICLE XVI.

The character of the natives of Madagaſcar is the ſame throughout the iſland: curious, facile, ſuperficial, ſuperſtitious, ambitious, revengeful, voluptuous, hoſpitable, compaſſionate, credulous, prodigal; one day ſedentary, the next induſtrious cultivators of the land, and the next warriors. Their principal commerce is with us; but their interior trade conſiſts of exchange of ſlaves for cattle or rice. The country is well wooded, and the wood may be applied to every imaginable uſe. The productions of the country are rice, ſugar canes, indigo, tobacco, benzoan,

incenſe, wax, honey, cotton, ſilk, wood, various pulſe and fruit, and a large quantity of horned cattle. From my own trials, I am aſſured, that bread corn, barley, and oats, proſper at the bay of Antongil.

ARTICLE XVII.

Do the people of Madagaſcar live in ſociety? Have they a form of government; or are they governed by uſage, or follow the ſimple notions of the law of nature? Have they any religion, or at leaſt a notion of a God? Do they adore him? Are they diſpoſed to ſubmit to the French government, to adopt our police, our uſages, and our religion? Are they induſtrious, diligent, and laborious? Have they any arts and manufactures? Are they curious with regard to the productions of ours? What productions or merchandize are moſt acceptable to them? Are they imitators? Would it be eaſy to inſpire them with a taſte for inſtruction of every kind?

Anſwer to ARTICLE XVII.

The Madagaſcar people live in ſociety, and have a form of government, which is Ariſtocratical: their laws are traditional; and they have a religion, and adore one God.

Their diſpoſitions, by inclination, attach them to the French; but they are too jealous of their liberty, ever to ſubmit with willingneſs to a foreign government. They adopt our uſages and police; but I cannot venture to affirm any thing reſpecting a change of religion. The ſatisfaction of poſſeſſing a plurality of wives, is a charm which is too ſtrong for them to think of adopting our religion:

the women ſeem deſirous of embracing it; perhaps for the contrary reaſon, of having each an huſband to herſelf. They are induſtrious, docile, and good workmen in metals and wood, ſuch as goldſmiths, blackſmiths, armourers, and carpenters. Their manufactures conſiſt in coverings, or cloths, for the waiſt, which are made out of the fibres * of the ſugar cane, upon the eaſtern coaſt, and of ſilk and cotton, upon the weſt coaſt; they are, beſides, very deſirous of our productions, cloths, brandy, gunpowder, muſquets, razors, hatchets, ſilver toys, mirors, knives, and pewter utenſils. They are very fond of Galloon lace; are imitators, and diſpoſed to learn trades.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Do the natives of Madagaſcar come willingly to ſettle near us? What is their manner of trading, and the articles exchanged between us and them?

Do the commodities annually imported by the Arabians, on the weſt part of the iſland, become diſperſed over the whole iſland, and as far as the bay of Antongil? What are theſe? Would it be eaſy for us to extend communications throughout the whole iſland; and by what means? How and in what manner have the ſubjects of his Majeſty, who formerly traded to this iſland, been informed of his intention, that ſuch trades ſhould be prohibited in thoſe parts where the Baron de Benyowſky ſettled? Has any ordonnance been promulgated at the iſle of France to this effect? What private veſſels have been confiſcated by the Baron de

* So I tranſlate *Pagnes de Taffia*; perhaps improperly. E.

Benyowſky to his Majeſty's uſe; and what is the amount of their cargoes?

Anſwer to ARTICLE XVIII.

The Madagaſcar people eſtabliſh their dwellings, by preference, near thoſe of the white men. The articles of exchange in this trade, conſiſt of piece goods, brandy, and other merchandizes, mentioned in the preceding article; they furniſh rice, cattle, and ſlaves: they are likewiſe glad to receive piaſtres. The Arabians carry on a conſiderable trade with them; but they only receive in exchange for their merchandize, benzoin, incenſe, a ſmall quantity of amber, a large quantity of tortoiſhell and rice: they bring waiſt-cloths from Surat, ſilver bracelets, gold ear rings, gold and ſilver in plates and hatchets, very ill made. The principal trade of the Arabians is with the nation of the Seclaves.

According to the plan of the ſecond principle which I have laid down, the communications from eaſt to weſt may be extended over the whole iſland: this may be done with moderate forces, but the confidence of the chiefs muſt be ſecured, in order that they may furniſh workmen and labourers.

The chiefs of the government of the iſle of France have informed the public of the interdiction of trade, and have promulgated this order upon the iſland. There have been no private veſſels confiſcated ſince my arrival on this iſland; ſeveral have been arreſted, carrying on prohibited trade, but I releaſed them, upon being aſſured that the owners and captains knew nothing of the prohibition. Such were the veſſels La Flore and Le Coureur.

ARTICLE XIX.

What is the moſt ſimple, the moſt certain, and the moſt advantageous method of trading with Madagaſcar for rice, cattle, and ſlaves, which we are in the habit of obtaining from thence? Are ſlaves plentiful in the country near the bay of Antongil, and upon the eaſtern coaſt? Would it be eaſy to trade in the interior part of the iſland? But if Government ſhould think proper to eſtabliſh a colony at Madagaſcar, would it not be more advantageous to forbear trading in ſlaves at all?

Anſwer to ARTICLE XIX.

The moſt ſimple, certain, and advantageous method of carrying on the trade of rice, cattle, and ſlaves, which are uſually obtained from Madagaſcar, is to purchaſe theſe articles with ready money; and to open ſales, at the ſtore-houſes of the eſtabliſhed poſts, for articles of merchandize, to be paid for in ready money; ſuch, for example, as piece goods, muſquets, gunpowder, brandy. In this way the money would return by circulation, which would be ſufficient for the purpoſes of trade, by means of a moderate annual ſupply, even for the carrying on a very conſiderable commerce. The inhabitants of the bay of Antongil, being all huſbandmen, never ſell ſlaves; but, on the contrary, they make purchaſes of them every year. The whole of the eaſt coaſt affords a very ſmall number of ſlaves: they are brought from the interior parts of the iſland, from Ovou Antiaſnak. The population of Madagaſcar is very moderate, in proportion to its extent; and in caſe Government

vernment ſhould propoſe to export more than two thouſand blacks annually, the country would ſoon be depopulated, if the ſupply were not kept up by the importation of Mozambique ſlaves, who, under the diſcipline of the European coloniſts, would form a particular militia, and by uniting with the Madagaſcar women, would produce a peculiar race, very proper for the formation of new eſtabliſhments. It would, doubtleſs, be neceſſary to prohibit the trade of Madagaſcar ſlaves.

ARTICLE XX.

What may be nearly the total amount of the population of Madagaſcar, at preſent? Is the interior part of the iſland inhabited? Do all theſe people ſpeak the ſame language?

Anſwer to ARTICLE XX.

The total of the population of Madagaſcar, in its preſent ſtate, does not exceed two million five hundred thouſand males. The interior part of the iſland is inhabited, and very populous. All the people of Madagaſcar ſpeak very nearly the ſame language.

ARTICLE XXI.

What obſervations has the Baron de Benyowſky made upon that which is called the north part of Madagaſcar? Is it equally populous, abounding with cattle, and fertile as the ſouthern part? For what reaſon did the Baron de Benyowſky prefer extending his ſettlement into the north, rather than towards the ſouth part of the iſland, which, according to the received opinion, offers more reſources for

for trade, and is likewiſe better peopled, and more abounding with rice, cattle, and ſlaves?

Anſwer to ARTICLE XXI.

The obſervations which I have made upon the north part of the iſland of Madagaſcar, are, that it abounds in cattle, timber, and rice, and has ſeveral harbours very well ſituated for trading with the coaſts of Africa, Surat, Maſcat, Baſſora, Moka, and the Arabian iſlands. The northern coaſt is more fertile than that to the ſouthward, and abounds with a greater quantity of cattle.

The reaſons upon which I extended my ſettlements into the north part of the iſland, are founded upon the aſſurance, that I ſhould trade with people leſs prejudiced againſt the French. I have always conſidered it to be the intention of the miniſter, in ſending me to form an eſtabliſhment, that I ſhould civilize the Madagaſcar nation, and form alliances with them, by virtue of which the French would enjoy the advantages of commerce, and aſſiſtance in favour of their ſettlements in India, in caſe of war; and I have directed my operations accordingly. I cannot, even at this time, think that the intention of his Majeſty and his miniſter was ſuch, as could lead them to expect me to act in any other manner. I have done my duty; and I can venture, on this occaſion, gentlemen, to aſſure you, that my proceedings have been ſuch, as would have been adopted and purſued by any other perſon who was jealous of the reputation of his Sovereign, under whom he ſerved, and of the nation, whoſe arms he had the honour to bear.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XXII.

What in general are the productions of this immenſe iſland; and what are the ſpeculations of trade, and the objects of importation, which might reaſonably be attended to without exceſs, and with that prudence and wiſdom which are neceſſary to prepare and determine the fate of every enterprize?

Anſwer to ARTICLE XXII.

As a military man, I have conſidered, that the iſland of Madagaſcar, civilized and attached to the intereſts of France, might have been advantageouſly recurred to in the conſtruction of veſſels, and to ſupply the other colonies with proviſions; that its population being at length augmented, it might become a ſource of ſupplies for war; which, being in the neighbourhood of India, and the moſt extenſive poſſeſſions of the Engliſh and other nations, would ſerve to keep them in reſpect. The iſlanders are accuſtomed to navigation; might be employed on board merchant veſſels; and when, by different voyages, they had become capable of ſerving as mariners, in the navigation to and from India, and in the Indian ſeas, they would afford certain and neceſſary means for the preſervation of the Europeans.

With regard to the preſent trade, it conſiſts of rice, ſlaves, and cattle, wood in planks, with benzoin; theſe may now be exported. If in future the European or Mallabar coloniſts, tranſported into the iſland, ſhould exert themſelves to profit by the riches which nature preſents, ſeveral other branches of trade would be opened, ſuch as ſugar,

indigo, tobacco, cotton, ſilk, wax, &c. The truth concerning Madagaſcar, is, that the commerce is real, and ſubſiſts already; nothing more being wanted but the means of ſecuring its extent. The merchant affirms, that his Majeſty need only abandon the trade to individuals, and that emulation and exportation will increaſe the culture of the land, and encourage the natives of the country; ſo that by this means only, ſubſiſtence and riches will be ſecured. He thinks himſelf in the right, but conſiders himſelf only, becauſe he is intereſted in the duration of his perſonal trade, which may laſt a certain number of years, and he cares for nothing further. Speculating reaſoners will ſay, that it is beſt to proceed gently; then the moſt difficult enterprizes may be accompliſhed by mildneſs; that, by forming ſmall eſtabliſhments, under favour of the treaties of the merchants and others, we may ſucceed in gaining entirely the confidence of the natives; and that by this means the ſmall colony will be augmented, and will at length become numerous, and as large as may be wiſhed, without fatiguing the ſtate by expences, or by any perceptible loſs of men. Theſe reaſoners likewiſe ſuppoſe themſelves to be in the right. The firſt, and the ſecond of theſe projects, muſt be eſtabliſhed upon toleration, the event of which is always unfortunate. I therefore leave it to you, gentlemen commiſſaries, to decide what part ought to be taken, in theſe circumſtances, by a chief to whom an enterprize of this nature was entruſted, and who is ſent to form an eſtabliſhment in the moſt convenient manner.

ARTICLE XXIII.

Have any mines of iron, copper, or other metals, been found at the bay of Antongil, or its environs? What are the

the intereſting vegetables, or medicinal plants, which may be uſeful for our iſlands of France and Bourbon?

Does the country afford wood proper for ſhip-building, or to be uſed in dying?

What are the roots and oils of the country? What means are there of eſtabliſhing to advantage, upon the coaſt, the fiſhery of whales, which are abundant in the neighbouring ſeas?

Anſwer to ARTICLE XXIII.

Ores of iron and copper are found, at the bay of Antongil; gold duſt at the head of Angonaw; ſilver at Angontzi; cryſtal at Mananhar. But with reſpect to vegetables, I cannot venture to make any aſſertion, on account of my total ignorance of botany.

The country affords wood, very proper for building ſhips, or for maſts of veſſels: dying woods likewiſe grow here; the blacks uſe them to dye yellow, blue, black, red, green, &c. As to reſins, they have arant, detamaca, and vohinata. The blacks make oil from the whale and the manata, or ſea cow. The whale fiſhery will be always diſadvantageous on the coaſt, unleſs a ſettlement be formed at St. Mary, ſufficiently provided with veſſels and men deſtined to this employ; but I conſider a ſettlement at that place as impoſſible.

ARTICLE XXIV.

Where are the remarks and obſervations of the Baron de Benyowſky upon the navigation of the bay of Antongil? Do the ſouth winds prevail here, as at the iſle of France? Are they contrary to the paſſing of veſſels out of the bay

of Antongil? What time do veſſels uſually require to paſs from this bay to fort Dauphin, on the ſouthern part of the iſland?

Has the Baron ſent perſons by ſea to examine the northern part of the iſland of Madagaſcar?

Has any ſafe harbour been diſcovered?

What are the navigable rivers of the iſland, and their ſituation?

Is the country ſubject to hurricanes or tempeſts?

Anſwer to ARTICLE XXIV.

The winds from ſouth-eaſt to ſouth-weſt prevail from the month of March to the 15th of September, and ſometimes to the end of the month; after which the winds from north-eaſt, north-north-weſt and weſt prevail; but in the bay there is uſually a land and ſea breeze, during the courſe of the twenty-four hours: the ſea breeze begins to blow at eight, nine, or ten in the morning, and ceaſes at ſix, ſeven, or eight in the evening; and at eleven in the evening the land breeze uſually ſprings up, by favour of which veſſels can almoſt always go out of the bay; obſerving that, on the firſt day after weighing, the iſlands of Bats may be doubled, where they may anchor at the ſetting in of the ſea breeze; or if the pilot is ſure of his veſſel, he may turn to windward in the bay. In the evening they may again ſet ſail, and may get out the next day, at a certainty. By the obſervations I have made, in twenty-two voyages, of veſſels which have ſailed out of the bay, none of them required more than four or five days for that purpoſe, except the Grand Bourbon, which was three months in getting out, though ſeveral veſſels ſailed from hence while

while the commander amuſed himſelf in ſailing from one ſide of the harbour to the other. I am ignorant whether this was the fault of the veſſel, or of the captain; or whether it was in conſequence of certain orders which Mr. Maillart gave him, to execute none of my commiſſions.

In order to ſail to fort Dauphin, it is neceſſary to take advantage of the winds which blow between September and May. The uſual paſſage, after quitting the bay, is four days. In the contrary ſeaſon, it takes ſometimes twenty-two, or twenty-five days, but no more than ſix or ſeven days to return.

I have ſent people to explore the iſland, both to the ſouthward and northward. Two harbours were diſcovered to the northward, the one at Angontzi, and the other at Voemar. To the ſouthward there is only the anchoring place at Foul Point, and the road of Tamatava. The moſt conſiderable river in the north part of the iſland, is that of Tingballe, upon which the chief ſettlement is eſtabliſhed. It is navigable for ſmall boats, and the boats of the country. Voemar, and Louque to the northward, are likewiſe navigable for the veſſels of the country. This iſland is exempt from hurricanes.

ARTICLE XXV.

Laſtly, what are the reflections of M. the Baron de Benyowſky upon the pernicious influence of the air, during the winter, more eſpecially at the bay of Antongil, and upon the coaſt? We pray that he will give us a memoir at large, upon this very eſſential point, which deſerves the utmoſt conſideration, on account of its tendency to preſerve the lives of his Majeſty's ſubjects.

The experience he has acquired, and the conſiderable number of men he has loſt at this place, during the three years following the eſtabliſhment of the ſettlement, muſt have fixed his ideas as well with regard to the precaution neceſſary to be taken, and the means of preſerving them.

Do the people who are found on the ſea coaſts during the healthy ſeaſon, take refuge in the interior part of the iſland during the unhealthy ſeaſon, to avoid the pernicious influence of the air? When they remain on the ſea coaſts during the unhealthy ſeaſon, do they experience the ſame diſorders as the Europeans? It is in conſequence of theſe conſiderations, which are of the greateſt importance to the ſucceſs of the views that may be entertained by Government, that we demand of M. the Baron de Benyowſky, what inconveniences would ariſe from the formation of a ſolid eſtabliſhment, during the whole year, upon the peninſula of Tamatava;—the country is wholeſome, ſituated in the centre of the eaſtern coaſt, where the greateſt abundance of rice, cattle, and ſlaves, may be furniſhed from all parts;—in this caſe, would it not be ſufficient to ſend, during the healthy ſeaſon, managers of the trade to Foul Point, to the bay of Antongil, and principally to fort Dauphin, and to give the preference to Tamatava, as a place for the chief ſettlement?

Moreover, whatever place may appear to the Baron de Benyowſky as deſerving the preference to form the eſtabliſhment of a colony, admitting it to be healthy in itſelf, and during the whole year, we demand to be informed, what would be the forces, the means, and the expences to be made by Government, during the ten firſt years, and what would

would be the advantages which the nation would afterwards derive from thence.

We will carry this queſtion and reaſoning ſtill further. If the miniſter, and chiefs of the adminiſtration of the iſle of France, had acceded to all the demands which the Baron de Benyowſky has made, ſince his arrival in Madagaſcar, whether of men or money, or articles of trade, or any other ſupplies whatever; what advantages would the nation have derived from thence? It has already made efforts, which, for the firſt four years, 1773, 1774, 1775, and 1776, may amount to more than one million five hundred thouſand livres; we demand and requeſt that he will demonſtrate to us, what uſeful purpoſe has been anſwered by the employment of theſe firſt advances, or what ſucceſs in future may be hoped for from the diſburſement of ſuch a conſiderable ſum?

We are well convinced, that no perſon can better fill a charge of ſo delicate a nature than the Baron de Benyowſky; in the performance of which, it is neceſſary that all the qualities which he poſſeſſes ſhould be united, in order to diſcharge the duties, and ſupport the ſettlement, in the manner he has hitherto done. But the experience of the paſt, cannot but have enlightened his courage, and added to the force of his mind: it is from the one and the other of theſe, that we expect that diſplay of true information, which muſt fix the views of Government, the miniſter, and his Majeſty.

At the bay of Antongil, at the iſland of Madagaſcar, September 20, 1776.

Anſwer

Anſwer to ARTICLE XXV.

Having addreſſed to the miniſter, conformably to his orders, an extract of my reflections upon the diſorders of this country, I have now the honour to preſent a copy (annexed) of the ſame to you.

The natives of the iſland uſually paſs the unhealthy ſeaſon in the interior part of the iſland. The people of the interior parts, when they arrive at the ſea coaſt, are attacked by fevers, as well as the Europeans, but they are exempt from them at a diſtance from the coaſt. The eſtabliſhment, formed and concentrated according to my principles, would ſuffer the following inconveniences:

The road of Tamatava being dangerous for ſhipping, does not offer them the neceſſary ſhelter, and they would always run great riſks, becauſe the natives of theſe countries, being ſurrounded by enemies, would ſoon engage the ſettlement in their quarrels. For the eſtabliſhment being preſent, and intereſted in the poſſeſſion of the neighbouring territories, could not remain neutral; and its declaration in favour of the other ſide, would engage the eſtabliſhment in a war, which could not fail of alienating the minds of their neighbours. Hiavi, firſt chief of Foul Point, ſeeing the preference given to Tamatava, would be one of the firſt to excite continual diſcords, which would interrupt cultivation, and reduce the ſettlement to the want of neceſſaries. The Betalimenes, a numerous people at their eaſe, and enemies to all the other nations of theſe countries, who are the richeſt in flocks of cattle, would no longer dare to approach Tamatava, for fear either of

Fariavas,

Fariavas, or Hiavi. Laſtly, the communication with the other poſts would be very difficult, the road being overflowed at every new and full moon, by a high ſea, and hurricanes, for near ſix days. Veſſels at anchor, which would often be obliged to put out to ſea, and would be driven by the current, could not regain the road, in ſome caſes, in leſs than fifteen days. This circumſtance, together with the difficulty of quitting the road, which is always dangerous, renders it abſolutely impoſſible to fix the eſtabliſhment of the chief ſettlement at Tamatava. The beſt that can be done, is to eſtabliſh a factory, dependant on Foul Point: it would be of advantage, on account of the confluence of the natives, accuſtomed to the commerce of ſlaves, cattle, and rice. The ſalubrity of Tamatava, compared with that of Foul Point, makes no great difference; beſides, the commiſſioners having judged on the one ſide reſpecting Tamatava, by themſelves, and on the other, by conſidering my reflections on theſe ſubjects, may eaſily decide reſpecting this affair.

With regard to that paragraph of the preſent article, which begins with the words, "Moreover, whatever place "may appear to the Baron de Benyowſky as deſerving the "preference," &c. in which the commiſſaries propoſe the queſtion, What would be the forces and expences to be furniſhed by Government, during the firſt ten years; and afterwards, what would be the advantages which the nation would derive from thence—I have the honour to repreſent, that, in order to enable me to anſwer this queſtion, it is neceſſary that I ſhould have been previouſly apprized of the final deciſion of his Majeſty, reſpecting the eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar. If the intention of his Ma-

jeſty be, that the entire dominion of this iſland ſhall be the fruits of an eſtabliſhment; or if the views of a general trade ſhould interfere with the plan of the eſtabliſhment, which by its nature will transform itſelf into a colony: or, laſtly, if the mere ſubſiſtence of the iſles of France and Bourbon, is to be the profit—Upon the firſt plan I cannot hazard an opinion; for former examples are ſufficient to overthrow every violent enterprize upon the Madagaſcar nation. Beſides which, the treaties and alliances I have formed with this nation, by order of his Majeſty, forbids me from infringing them. I ſhall therefore proceed to the ſecond.

To carry it into execution, as far as my knowledge extends, the following is my anſwer. If his Majeſty, after ſupplying ſix hundred men, ſupported by a recruit of two hundred men at the end of each of the two following years, with permiſſion to chuſe huſbandmen in the troop, and allowing them to marry with the women of the country, without any reſtraint on account of religion; and permitting me to import, annually, two hundred foundlings, of the age of twelve or fourteen years, and likewiſe Malabar and Chineſe families from India; in this caſe, I ſay, Madagaſcar would at the end of three years form a colony, which, thus connected with the whole iſland of Madagaſcar, would begin to have ſome value. The expence would not exceed one million per year, except the additional expence of two veſſels, one of ſix hundred, and the other of two hundred tons, fitted out by his Majeſty, in order that the charge might not fall upon the colony; and alſo of ſix galliots, for the neceſſary communication of the poſts and tranſports.

This,

This, then, is the plan of the forces, means, and expences to be made during three years, at the end of which the colony of Madagaſcar would ſupport itſelf, and increaſe by the product of its principal, or united capital of three millions, until the tenth year, at which period it would be found to be a well eſtabliſhed colony, ſufficiently ſtrong to be in no fear of a ſudden revolution, and in a ſituation to reimburſe, by the product of its commerce, the advances which might have been made.

To the paragraph which begins with the words, "We "will carry this queſtion and reaſoning ſtill further," &c. I have the honour to reply, that if his Majeſty had granted me the ſupplies which I demanded, and the iſle of France had anſwered my requeſts, Madagaſcar *——the cultivation would have been increaſed, and the different departments of commerce explored, with national advantages. Laſtly, the glory of his Majeſty, in civilizing a whole nation, would have indemnified the ſacrifice: and this nation, reckoned among the number of his allies, would have increaſed the force of his power.

Meſſrs. the commiſſaries, in conſequence of information furniſhed at the iſle of France, have valued the ſum expended during the four firſt years, 1773, 1774, 1775, and 1776, at one million five hundred thouſand livres. I muſt entreat them to be pleaſed to determine the true expences, by inſpecting the balance of my account, and make a juſt compariſon of the repreſentation drawn up at the iſle of France, by ſelecting the ſums which were

* Here is a blank of one line and a half in the manuſcript, which the Count has not filled up.

really employed for the formation of the eſtabliſhment, and by ſeparating them from thoſe which are either pretended, or exaggerated. Beſides this, as I have had the honour to preſent the receipts to the commiſſaries, by a former article, I think it unneceſſary to repeat the ſtate of the accounts.

Laſtly, to ſhew the utility reſulting from the application of the firſt advances, or what may be the ſupplies to be hoped for in future, I have the honour to repreſent to the commiſſaries, that having always directed my obſervations to the formation of the ſettlement, I have rendered it ſubordinate to the plan of ſecuring the confidence of the natives of the country; and that commerce never entered into my views, but as an acceſſary, becauſe I conſidered the national riches to ariſe from the product of the cultivation of a territory, the property of which I ſhall ſecure to Government; that the works which I have executed, to render the ſpot which I have choſen healthful, were indiſpenſibly neceſſary, as well as the communication and eſtabliſhment of the different roads, and enquiries concerning the interior part of the country, to direct the ſubſequent operations; and moreover, that as all theſe parts of my operations tend only to the ſame fixed purpoſe, which forms the baſis of the whole, I admit that the greateſt part of theſe expences will be pure loſs, if the miniſter thinks proper to ſupport the plan of conquering Madagaſcar; for the only conſequence which will reſult from ſuch an undertaking, will conſiſt in the loſs of men and money, uſeleſsly thrown away.

For my own perſonal juſtification, and in order that I may have nothing to reproach myſelf with, I once more repeat

repeat my preſſing requeſt to the commiſſaries, that they will be pleaſed to read the inſtructions of the miniſter reſpecting my miſſion, and then I hope they will be convinced, that I have done nothing but what my duty and my zeal required me to do.

After having replied at length to the commiſſaries' queſtions, propoſed to me by order of his Majeſty, I take the liberty to repreſent to them, that in the preſent ſituation of the eſtabliſhment, and in caſe his Majeſty ſhall have deferred his final deciſion reſpecting the eſtabliſhment, until the accounts came forward to him, no other means will remain in my power, than to ſecure the chief place, and its dependencies, by a ſuitable proviſion for the ſubſiſtence of the troops, which will be neceſſary, until the receipt of his Majeſty's orders, and to ſuſpend all the works whatever, which may occaſion expence; and in this poſition to wait for the period which may determine the fate of the eſtabliſhment at the bay of Antongil.

At the iſland of Madagaſcar, Sept. 22, 1776.

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE DISORDERS OF THE ISLAND OF MADAGASCAR.

UPON my arrival on this iſland, by his Majeſty's orders, to form a ſettlement, the ſucceſs of which muſt naturally depend on the preſervation of the people, I immediately applied my attention to acquire a perfect knowledge of the diſorders of the country, which had been deſcribed to me as very dreadful. But after all the enquiries I have made of ſurgeons, who frequented the iſland of Madagaſcar, I find myſelf diſappointed in my expectations. Out of ſixteen, whom I have conſulted, there were not two who agreed reſpecting the cauſe of the diſorder, or the treatment of patients. The object of their voyages having been always that of trade, they embarraſſed themſelves very little with this important affair, to which they ought to have paid the moſt ſerious attention. The informations which, on the other hand, I received from the natives of the country, have not led me to any diſcovery concerning the nature of the diſorder; though I think myſelf indebted to their method of treatment, which preſerved my life, and that of my family.

Time

Time and experience therefore, alone, could give ſome information, which I have committed to writing, with the hope that my diſcoveries and obſervations might engage Government to cauſe them to be diſcuſſed, followed, and authorized, if they ſhould be thought worthy of attention.

Here follow the OBSERVATIONS.

Every European, upon his arrival at Madagaſcar, who has not reſided in hot climates, will be ſeized by the fevers of the country. The attack is more or leſs violent, according to the conſtitution of the individual, and they are retarded more or leſs, as well as attended with greater or leſs danger, according to the dryneſs or moiſture of the place of ſettlement. This obſervation is grounded on,

1ſt. That out of three hundred and ſixty-ſeven men, who came to Madagaſcar under my command, no more than fifty eſcaped the fevers of the country; and theſe men had been long inured to hot climates, by a conſiderable time of reſidence at Bengal.

2dly. There was no perſon of a full habit who did not experience burning fevers, followed by ravings, from which moſt of thoſe who were of a ſtrong conſtitution were exempt.

3dly. The fevers, after our arrival in 1773 and 1774, made conſiderable ravages. The men who had newly landed at Louiſbourg, which was in the midſt of a marſh, ſcarcely held up ſix months before they were attacked, and in general fatally. In the year 1775, after the greateſt part of the marſhes had been drained, the new-comers withſtood the action of the climate for ſeventeen months, and were then attacked with leſs force. In this ſituation the ſick did not ſuffer thoſe dreadful ravings, followed by convulſions,

vulſions, and the mortality became eſſentially leſs numerous. The following year, 1776, was even more favourable; the fevers were of the uſual appearance, and without any dangerous ſymptoms: I can venture to place them actually in the number of thoſe which all hot and moiſt climates occaſion.

The uſual method of treatment adopted by the ſurgeons, in the fever, at Madagaſcar, is the following:

As ſoon as the firſt violence of the attack is over, they give a doſe of emetic (tartar); the following day they give ipecacuanha, and afterwards quinquina and ptiſan, until the fifth criſis. The patient at this period uſually was in a lethargic drowſineſs, and continual delirium, which gave way with difficulty to the application of bliſters. Experience has unfortunately ſhewn that this treatment carried two-thirds of the patients to their grave. It was happy for thoſe whoſe conſtitutions were ſtrong enough to withſtand this treatment for eight days, becauſe the ſurgeons, at that period, gave them up to the courſe of nature, which very often produced better effects.

My own private obſervations are theſe:

When the Europeans firſt land at Madagaſcar, they have a ſtrong appetite, and devour both animal and vegetable food indiſcriminately, at the ſame time that their drink is nothing but lemonade. They are, beſides, expoſed to great heat, and breathe a moiſt air, occaſioned by the exhalations of the marſhes, and the miſts or fogs, which ariſe from the rivers and woods. In this ſituation they are ſubject to continual ſweats, which at length weakens the radical moiſture, which is ſo neceſſary to digeſtion. Hence ariſe

ariſe thoſe indigeſtions, which are ſo common in this climate, and produce convulſions on the ſlighteſt ſuppreſſion of tranſpiration, which at length being diſſipated in vapours, produce the moſt violent head-aches, moſt commonly attended with a dreadful delirium. The appetite is then loſt, and gives place to a continual diſpoſition to vomit, attended with a violent ſenſation of burning in the brain; the fever ſucceeds theſe ſymptoms, and is more or leſs violent, according to the conſtitution of the individual, or the nature of the place. As I found, from experience, that the treatment of the ſurgeons uſually carried the patients to their grave, I availed myſelf of another method, in my own particular caſe, and that of my family, which was copied from the method of treatment adopted by the iſlanders; excepting only that I made uſe of theriaca to excite ſweats, which they bring on by bathing, or by the uſe of ſimples, which are produced in the country. The method is as follows:

At the firſt indication of the head-ache, a doſe of theriaca muſt be adminiſtered, and the patient muſt be kept warm, in a room with a fire in it, in order to re-eſtabliſh the tranſpiration. The next day bleed in the foot, and on the third day purge with pure manna: afterwards the patient muſt every evening take a doſe of confection of hyacinth, or ſome other cordial, and during the continuance of the diſorder no other nouriſhment is to be given to the patient but ſoup and freſh eggs. It is to this ſimple treatment that I am indebted for my own life, and for the lives of moſt of thoſe who have had the honour to ſerve his Majeſty in this colony.

REMARKS on the means which I apprehend to be the moſt proper to prevent, and even to extirpate entirely, the diſorders to which the Europeans are ſubject in this country.

Firſt, the uſe of boiled fleſh muſt be entirely forbidden to all who have recently arrived; and their nouriſhment muſt be confined to ſoup and roaſt meat, with rice. It is likewiſe proper to forbid them the uſe of lemons, and to ſubſtitute vinegar in their ſtead. An allowance of ſome ſtrong liquor ought to be diſtributed morning and evening to every ſoldier, or workman, for the three firſt years, in order to preſerve them from the bad air occaſioned by the vapours of the marſhes, and the fogs which ariſe from the rivers and the woods.

Care muſt be taken to elevate the houſes in which they reſide, in order that the circulation of air may be facilitated. Fire-places, likewiſe, ſhould be built in them, to rarify the internal air, particularly during the night, when it is uſually moiſt and cold.

The reſt of the marſhes near the ſettlements ought to be drained: this buſineſs is already done in part, and the reſt may ſoon be finiſhed, provided Government ſhall think proper to make the neceſſary exertions and expence.

The places where poſts or villages are propoſed to be eſtabliſhed, within the iſland, ought to be at a diſtance from the rice plantations; and the places ought to be cleared ſix months before they are inhabited, that the putrid exhalations, which I have obſerved to abound upon newly cleared lands, may have time to diſſipate.

Experience has ſhewn me, that the time of planting was the ſickly ſeaſon; and likewiſe that the poſts eſtabliſhed in the

the uncleared woods, enjoyed a wholeſome air, and were not attacked with fevers.

The men ought not to be employed in the works, until the ſun has diſſipated the vapours and fogs, which ariſe from the marſhes; for the heat is leſs pernicious than the morning exhalations.

The cultivation of red rice, which grows only in the marſhes, ought to be aboliſhed throughout Madagaſcar. The iſlanders, in order to procure this grain with leſs trouble, make cuts in the month of December, which convey the water into the ground they deſign to plant. They keep the ground under water, until it has acquired the conſiſtence of a bog, at which time they turn in a flock of cattle, to divide the ſoil by their feet, after which they ſow the rice. It ſhoots up in a very ſhort time, and is again covered with water as ſoon as it is in the blade; which water they leave to evaporate ſpontaneouſly. In many parts of the iſland they ſave themſelves the trouble of digging canals, and making banks round the fields, by entirely damming up the rivers, and cauſing them by that means to overflow their grounds. This is a very common circumſtance upon the coaſt; it is not, therefore, unworthy of credit, that this method of cultivation may be enough to poiſon a whole country, and that the ſalubrity would be reſtored by aboliſhing it. It may be objected, that, by depriving the inhabitants of this method of cultivation, a great part of their productions would be taken away; but thoſe who make this objection, know very little of Madagaſcar, becauſe the cultivation of red rice amounts, at the utmoſt, to no more than one-fourth of their whole

product; and the other three-fourths of white rice does not grow in the marſhes, but upon the high grounds. And could not this loſs be made up, by introducing the cultivation of wheat, and the uſe of the plough?

From my own experience, I am convinced that corn, barley, and oats, will thrive perfectly well here, and more eſpecially maize.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

PROJECT OF A COLONY AT MADAGASCAR,

IN CASE ANY POWER SHOULD ADOPT

THE SYSTEM OF CIVILIZATION,

FOUNDED ON THE

BASIS OF AN ALLIANCE.

An Estimate of the Importation of Men, and of the Population.

AS the colony of Madagaſcar may be eſtabliſhed in ten years, by means of an advance of three millions of livres; it will have conſumed near eighteen hundred men during theſe ten years, ſuppoſing that ſeven hundred and twenty military were ſent the firſt year; two hundred men for each of the two following years; one hundred and fifty for each of the ſeven following years; and that during the whole ten years, one year with another, there be imported one hundred and twenty European huſbandmen, thirty creoles,

and fifty natives, either of India, China, or from the coaſt of Malabar. The whole importation will amount to four thouſand one hundred and ſeventy men: this number will annually produce ſix hundred children, the total of which, at the end of the tenth year, will amount to ſix thouſand creoles, and three thouſand three hundred and ſeventy Europeans; a ſufficient number to fix the epoch of a colony.

COMMERCE.

Madagaſcar, in its preſent ſtate, can conſume three hundred thouſand pieces of cloth, three thouſand caſks of brandy, at twenty-five veltes, twenty thouſand muſquets, one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds of gunpowder, ſix hundred thouſand knives, one hundred thouſand looking glaſſes, fifteen thouſand pieces of handkerchiefs, five thouſand pieces of chintz, patnas, ginghams, &c. a large quantity of pottery, inſtruments, and tools of copper, iron, and tin; ſlight cloths of gold and ſilver, fine cloths, galloons, gold and ſilver laces; and this trade muſt produce to me, during the firſt and ſecond year, a profit of one million four hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand pounds, all expences deducted, which in French money amounts to ſeven million eight hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty livres.

In exchange for theſe merchandizes, the articles received will be ſkins, timber, and dying woods; gums, wax, honey, &c. And this trade of barter will in a ſhort time increaſe, by affording coffee, indigo, ſugar, pepper, and ſilk; and in the mean time, the advantage of one hundred per cent. will be conſtantly gained on the exchange of the value of

ſeven

ſeven million eight hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty livres. The property of theſe firſt merchandizes will open branches of commerce with Mozambique, Maſcat, Baſſora, and Surat; and theſe laſt imports will be always valuable in Europe, eſpecially the indigo, which is of the beſt kind and quality. In a word, Madagaſcar, with her own productions, joined to aſſortments of thoſe of Europe, will carry on the moſt advantageous trade to all the parts beyond the Cape, and will ſupport her connection with Europe by virtue of her own productions.

REVENUES OF THE STATE.

The principal ſettlement of Madagaſcar will receive, during the firſt year, the revenue of the different provinces, conſiſting of four thouſand oxen, one million three hundred thouſand pounds of rice, two hundred and fifty thouſand madriers or thick planks, fifteen thouſand planks, and one hundred and eighty boats of the country; the whole valued at four hundred and thirty-eight thouſand livres. This tribute will neceſſarily augment, as the peopleing and cultivation of the land ſhall increaſe; ſo that it may, without any exaggeration, be ſet down at one million three hundred and ſixty thouſand livres for the third year.

INCREASE OF THE CULTIVATION BY THE COLONISTS AND EUROPEANS.

This eſtabliſhment, after the third year, will have formed one hundred and fifty European habitations, and the people will ſupply ſixteen million pounds of ſugar, five hundred thouſand pounds of coffee, ſix million pounds of tobacco,

tobacco, five hundred thouſand pounds of cotton, and five million pounds of grain; one-tenth of which, paſſing into the public treaſury, will amount to three hundred and five thouſand livres. From the third to the tenth year, theſe habitations will increaſe, and conſequently the product will be more conſiderable, eſpecially when manufactories of cotton and ſilk ſhall have been eſtabliſhed.

Every power allied to Madagaſcar will, moreover, enjoy the ſuperior advantage, that, inſtead of exporting ſpecie to India, to paſs in the courſe of circulation into the hands of their rivals, they may purchaſe the neceſſary merchandize of their friends and allies, in exchange for the products of their own induſtry.

MINES.

The Iſland of Madagaſcar, abounding with mines of iron and copper, and having plenty of wood, offers likewiſe the advantage of furniſhing theſe articles for the trade to India, the Perſian Gulph, and the Red Sea.

MARINE AND NAVIGATION.

As Madagaſcar abounds with the beſt kind of wood for building, and affords reſins and hemp of her own growth, and moreover poſſeſſes the advantage of excellent harbours, it offers every convenience for ſhip building. The iſlanders are very much diſpoſed to navigation, and are accuſtomed to the ſea by their own coaſting trade; they will therefore be of the greateſt ſervice, after the firſt year, on board trading veſſels in the Indian ſeas; and when become more ſkilful, they may be employed on board the King's ſhips.

There is no one that will not readily perceive the conſiderable advantage of this circumſtance, as well in the preſervation of the European ſailors, as in the facility of completing the crews of fleets of men of war, which are often under the neceſſity of abandoning their enterprizes for want of men. The iſland of Madagaſcar will, in a word, afford an aſylum for ſhipping, will become a place of building and fitting out, and will be the general magazine for the ſubſiſtence of the fleets, and poſſeſſions of its protectors, beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

THE STATE OF DEFENSIVE WAR.

The extent of the iſland of Madagaſcar does not require a maſs of fortifications of the firſt order: the firſt poſts may be defended by ſimple works, intended only to cover the inhabitants from an unexpected landing. An enemy never can land ſo large a number as to drive them out of the country. I will even take upon me to ſay, that, at the tenth year after the formation of the eſtabliſhment, the greateſt forces which may be ſent, will be unable to maintain their footing in any part of the iſland; and the reſult of their enterprizes will, in the end, be always reduced to conſiderable expences and loſs.

I will take upon me to affirm, poſitively, that the iſland of Madagaſcar, after the expiration of the third year, will keep on foot upwards of twenty thouſand fighting men, of infantry, well regulated and diſciplined; and theſe twenty thouſand men, led on by intelligent officers, will greatly exceed in force the ſmall number of fatigued and exhauſted Europeans, which might be ſent to attack them. The experience

experience I have acquired in this iſland, has convinced me, that the natives of Madagaſcar are as eminent for good principles and valour, when free, as they are for timidity and baſeneſs when reduced to ſlavery.

The Madagaſcar people are naturally diſpoſed in favour of the Europeans, and attach themſelves to us with ſincerity. If they are convinced, that by alliances they can ſecure equality of conditions, and the poſſeſſion of their property, it will ſoon be ſeen that theſe iſlanders, confounded among the new inhabitants, will form but one people.

To obviate the objection which might be made, that all the different attempts to form eſtabliſhments upon this iſland, for the courſe of a century paſt, have been attended with the moſt unhappy conſequences, and that the preſent eſtabliſhment upon the iſland might run the ſame riſk; I anſwer, that the ſettlement will have nothing to fear, as long as the national chief maintains the prohibition of the ſlave trade; and that the Europeans, on their arrival, do not themſelves raiſe diſturbances, but endeavour to preſerve the people from ſlavery. I have examined the conduct of the French officers, who were formerly entruſted with the conduct of the different enterprizes upon this iſland, and I am convinced that their avidity led them to injuſtice and oppreſſion, which was the ſource of the misfortunes, that ended in the deſtruction of the ancient eſtabliſhments. They were uſurpers, and tyrants; who, with a view to increaſe their private fortunes, did not bluſh to attack the liberty of a people, to whom they ought to have been bound by the ties of gratitude.

THE STATE OF OFFENSIVE WAR.

The iſland of Madagaſcar will victual the ſquadrons of the power to whom ſhe ſhall be attached; will furniſh ſailors, who will ſerve better in hot climates than Europeans; and will likewiſe afford men to be employed in the military ſervice, as light troops. This people being able to ſubſiſt upon rice and beef, the natural product of their iſland, will be leſs expenſive in their ſubſiſtence; and being inured to hot climates, they will be more able to ſupport fatigue in the temperature of India.

Thoſe who have ſerved in India, inform us that the Engliſh ſurpaſs the French, by the number of Indians they keep in pay. But will any one preſume to make a compariſon between thoſe feeble Indians, who have no idea of glory, and the free people of Madagaſcar, led by affection and attachment to ſupport the cauſe of their allies, who have become their brothers and friends?—I can confidently predict, that the decided ſuperiority which any power may acquire in India, will depend upon its connection with the iſland of Madagaſcar.

SUPPLEMENT,

TO

SERVE AS A SEQUEL

TO THE

MEMOIRS CONCERNING MADAGASCAR.

The Faith of the Madagascar Nation.

THE Madagaſcar nation believes in a Supreme Being, whom they call Zanhare, which denotes Creator of all things. They honour and revere this Being, but have dedicated no temple to him, and much leſs have they ſubſtituted idols. They make ſacrifices, by killing oxen and ſheep, and they addreſs all theſe libations to God. It has been aſſerted, that this nation likewiſe makes offerings to the Devil; but in this there is a deception, for the piece of the ſacrificed beaſt, which is uſually thrown into the fire, is not intended in honour of the Devil, as is uſually pretended. This cuſtom is very ancient, and no one can tell the true reaſon of it. With regard to the immortality of the ſoul, the Madagaſcar people are perſuaded, that, after their death, their ſpirit will return again to the region in which Zanhare dwells; but they by no means admit that

that the ſpirit of man, after his death, can ſuffer any evil. As to the diſtinction of evil, or good, they are perſuaded that the good and upright man ſhall be recompenſed, in this life, by a good ſtate of health, the conſtancy of his friends, the increaſe of his fortunes, the obedience of his children, and the happineſs of beholding the proſperity of his family: and they believe that the wicked man's fate ſhall be the contrary to this. The Madagaſcar people, upon this conviction, when they make oaths, add benedictions in favour of thoſe who keep them, and curſes againſt thoſe who break them. In this manner it is that they appeal to the judgment of Zanhare, in making agreements; and it has never been known, or heard of, that a native of Madagaſcar has broken his oath, provided it was made in the uſual manner, which they ſay was preſcribed by their forefathers.

DISTINCTION OF KINGS, AND ORDERS, WHICH FORM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

The Madagaſcar people have always acknowledged the line of Ramini, as that to which the rights of Ampanſacabe, or Sovereign, belongs. They have conſidered this line as extinct, ſince the death of Dian Ramini Larizon, which happened ſixty-ſix years ago, and whoſe body was buried upon a mountain, out of which the river Manangourou ſprings; but having acknowledged the heir of this line, on the female ſide, they re-eſtabliſhed this title in the year 1776. The right of the Ampanſacabe conſiſts, in nominating the Rohandrians to aſſiſt in the cabars, at which all thoſe who are cited are bound to appear, and the judgment of the Ampanſacabe, in his cabar, is deciſive. Another

prerogative of the Ampanſacabe is, that each Rohandrian is obliged to leave him, by will, a certain proportion of his property, which the ſucceſſors uſually purchaſe by a ſlight tribute, or fine. Thirdly, the Ampanſacabe has a right to exact from each Rohandrian, one tenth of the produce of his land, and a number of horned cattle and ſlaves, in proportion to the riches of the country poſſeſſed by each Rohandrian.

The ſecond order is compoſed of the Rohandrians, or Princes. Since the loſs of the Ampanſacabe, three of theſe Rohandrians have aſſumed the title of Kings—namely, the Rohandrian of the province of Mahavelou, named Hiavi; of the province of Voemar, named Lambouin; and the third at Bombetoki, named Cimanounpou.

The third order conſiſts of the Voadziri, or lords of a diſtrict, compoſed of ſeveral villages.

The fourth order conſiſts of the Lohavohits, or chiefs of villages.

The fifth order, Ondzatzi, who are freemen, and compoſe the attendants or followers of the Rohandrians, Voadziri, or Lohavohits.

The ſixth order conſiſts of Ombiaſſes, or learned men; and this order forms the warriors, workmen, phyſicians, and diviners: theſe laſt poſſeſs no charge.

The ſeventh order conſiſts of Ampurias, or ſlaves.

Having made enquiries from Bombetoki paſſing to the northward, and as far as Itapere, the reſult proved, that there are thirty-eight Rohandrians actually reigning, and two hundred and eighty-ſeven Voadziri. With reſpect to the Lohavohits, Ondzatzi, and Obiaſſes, it was not poſſible to obtain any accurate determination of their number.

Theſe orders preſerve a regular gradation, reſpecting which it would be very difficult to give a detailed account. They live in the manner we read of concerning the ancient patriarchs. Every father of a family is prieſt and judge in his own houſe, though he depends upon the Lohavohits, who ſuperintend his conduct. This laſt is anſwerable to his Voadziri, and the Voadziri to the Rohandrian.

THE CONVENIENCES OF LIFE, AND THE STATE OF THE WEATHER.

The natives of Madagaſcar ſubſiſt on their flocks of oxen, ſheep, and goats, which they maintain, together with poultry, of which they keep a vaſt quantity. Their houſes are conſtructed of wood, but are very convenient, and wonderfully neat within-ſide. Their villages are ſurrounded with palliſades and ditches, and the habitations of the Rohandrians are well fortified and defended by cannon. They have * and ſlaves; they cultivate the earth with induſtry, and it affords rice, millet, maize, and pulſe, in large quantities: the ſoil likewiſe produces ſugar, tobacco, indigo, coffee, and pepper; and the land is not ſold, but given away. Erections of buildings coſt nothing more than the trouble of fetching the wood. Fiſh and game are to be had for catching. The people of Madagaſcar have no reaſon to fear wild beaſts, or venomous creatures, as there are none upon the iſland. Cold weather, froſt, and ſnow, are unknown to them; and the hot weather is leſs troubleſome here, than upon the iſlands which

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lie in the torrid zone, becauſe the nights are cool, and the heat of the day laſts only from nine to three, during which time the ſea breeze prevails, and cools the air to ſuch a degree, that it is ſeldom inconvenient. This heat laſts only four months, and during the reſt of the year, one continued ſpring prevails.

The Madagaſcar people, having no communication with the main land of Æthiopia, have not altered their primitive laws; and the language throughout the whole extent of the iſland is the ſame. It would be a raſh attempt to determine the origin of this nation; it is certain that it conſiſts of three diſtinct races, who have for ages paſt formed intermixtures, which vary to infinity. The firſt race is that of Zafe Ibrahim, or deſcendants of Abraham; but they have no veſtige of Judaiſm, except circumciſion, and ſome names, ſuch as Iſaac, Reuben, Jacob, &c. This race is of a brown colour. The ſecond race is that of Zaferamini: with reſpect to this, ſome books, which are ſtill extant among the Ombiaſſes, affirm, that it is not more than ſix centuries ſince their arrival at Madagaſcar; and as it is the only one concerning which I have met with any accounts, I ſhall proceed to give a ſhort extract from that of the natives. With reſpect to the third race of Zafe Canambou, it is of Arabian extraction, and arrived, much more lately than the others, from the coaſts of Æthiopia: hence it poſſeſſes neither power nor credit, and fills only the charges of writers, hiſtorians, poets, &c.

THE ORIGIN OF ZAFERAMINI. TRANSLATED FROM THE BOOK FASSIRI.

Rahimini, father of Imina, the mother of Mahomet, had two ſons, the elder of whom was named Ramini, and was a great prophet. He went to ſeek Mahomet, at Mecca, and Mahomet was aſtoniſhed at the wiſdom of Ramini; but as Ramini would not eat the fleſh of beaſts, unleſs he had himſelf cut the throat of the animal, he irritated the diſciples of Mahomet, who intended to ſpill his blood, becauſe he propoſed to introduce a new cuſtom. But Mahomet, inſpired by God, prevented the blood of the prophet from being ſpilled, and permitted him to cut the throats of the beaſts he eat; and ſome time afterwards gave him one of his daughters, named Farafatema, in marriage. Ramini went with his wife, his diſciples, and ſlaves, to Mongalor, where he lived the reſt of his life, and was an Ampanſaca. He had a ſon, named Rehaurorud, and a daughter Ramini, who married together, and had two ſons, the elder of whom was Rahadzi, and the younger Racovatzi. Rahadzi ſucceeded his father, and was King of Mangalor. Rahadzi being deſirous of ſeeing his native country, and viſiting the tombs of his anceſtors, at Palmir, equipped two veſſels for the voyage; and, as he had not any children, he gave orders that, in caſe of his death, his brother ſhould be choſen Ampanſaca in his place: but he was ſcarcely arrived, before a great man, named Ambouhor, inſpired Racovatzi with the deſign of aſſuming the title of King, and governing the country. Racovatzi, being naturally ambitious,

convened the great men, and declared that his brother was not gone to viſit the tombs of his fathers, but to make an act of the profeſſion of the law of Mahomet. Under this pretext he ſucceeded in his election; and out of all the great men, there remained only one, of the name of Amboulmaſſe, faithful to Rahadzi, who followed his maſter to Palmir, where he informed him of the ſad news of his brother's tranſaction. Rahadzi, ſeeing himſelf thus dethroned, took the reſolution of proceeding to an unknown land; and after ſailing three whole months with his ſhips, he arrived at the iſland of Comorro, which he found inhabited; and from whence he paſſed to Malacaſs, and landed at Manghabey, where he was friendly received by the great men of the country. He married the daughter of a King, by whom he had two children, the elder of which, by his wiſdom and the ſpirit of God, was choſen Ampanſacabe. This King, whoſe name was Ramini Azoringhetzi, had ſeveral children, amongſt whom he divided the provinces; but as they made war one againſt the other, the Rohandrians, governors of the ſaid provinces, declared themſelves Princes and Sovereigns of the country, and maſſacred the children of their Ampanſacabe, except Ramini Mamere, who was then at the breaſt. It was to this Ramini Mamere that they preſerved the title of Ampanſacabe; and the following are his deſcendants:—his ſon Ramini Olive, from whom, in a regular ſeries, iſſued Ramini Rohamado; Ramini Ragomin; Ramini Savatto; Ramini Panghare; Ramini Boamaſſe; Ramini Pangharzaffe; Ramini Bohitz; Ramini Miſſava; Ramini Ravohe; Ramini Nong; Ramini Arive.

The

The Ampanſaca Arive had four ſons; one legitimate, and three by his concubines. Ramini Benoule was the Ampanſacabe by inheritance; the three others were Dian Maninpele, Dian Tzianban, and Dian Raval. Theſe three conſpired againſt their elder brother, and ſlew him; and as he had only one daughter, they availed themſelves of the confuſion to erect themſelves into Rohandrians, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in the ſouthern part of Malacaſſe; for the northern provinces, being determined to revenge the death of their Ampanſacabe, made war upon them, and drove them out. The daughter of Ramini Benoule, married Dian Mihale, Rohandrian of the provinces of Manangbar, Antivoiezow, Antinokol, Antivohibey, Antimaroa, and theſe provinces elected and acknowledged Dian Mihale for their Ampanſabe, giving him the name of Ramini Mihale. Ramini Mihale had a ſon, who ſucceeded him; and his immediate deſcendants were Ramini Lubeton; Ramini Cievi; Ramini Lontazou; Ramini Refidzimon; Ramini Ravalou; and Ramini Larizon, the laſt of this ſecond race of Ramini: he was ſlain in a war with the Rohandrian Milouzou, of Mahavelou, who was aſſiſted by the French. The Rohandrian Milouzou ſlew the two ſons of Ramini Larizon upon his tomb, and preſerved only his daughter, whom he ſold to a Dutch merchant, who carried her beyond ſea. At the death of King Larizon, the title of Ampanſacabe remained extinct.

The deſcendants of Dian Maninpele, Dian Tzianban, and Dian Raval, who were ſettled at Mananzari, Itapoule, and Matatana, received the French alternately in their dominions, and were extirminated by them, except the line Tzerone, who avenged his family by a general maſſacre of

all the French in the country. Thus far proceeds the detail of the Faſſiri, a book which the Ombiaſſes, of the race of Zaffecanimanbou, have compoſed; but as it is neceſſary to bring it down to our time, the following may be added:

In the year 1776, the Rohandrians Voadziri, and Lohavohits, were perſuaded, that they had found a deſcendant of the daughter of Ramini Larizon, upon whom they conferred the charge of Ampanſacabe, and entered into the oath of blood with him.

THE ARTS AND TRADES OF MADAGASCAR.

The Madagaſcar nation being in want only of the neceſſaries of life, have not applied themſelves to the invention of ſo many arts and trades as are become indiſpenſible in Europe. They are contented with ſuch as are neceſſary to make their moveables, tools, utenſils, and arms for defence; to conſtruct their dwellings, and the boats, which are neceſſary for their navigation: and laſtly, to fabricate cloths and ſtuffs for their cloathing. They are deſirous only of poſſeſſing the neceſſary ſupplies of immediate utility and convenience.

The principal and moſt reſpected buſineſs, is the manufacture of iron and ſteel. The artiſts in this way call themſelves Ampanefa vihe. They are very expert in fuſing the ore, and forging utenſils, ſuch as hatchets, hammers, anvils, knives, ſpades, ſagayes, razors, pincers, or tweezers for pulling out the hair, &c.

The ſecond claſs conſiſts of the Goldſmiths, Ompanefa vola mena: they caſt gold in ingots, and make up bracelets, buckles, ear-rings, drops, rings, &c.

The

The third are called Ompavillanga, and are Potters.

The fourth are the Ompanevatta, or Turners in wood, who make boxes called vatta, plates, wooden and horn ſpoons, bee-hives, coffins, &c.

The fifth, Ompan cacaſou, or Carpenters. They are very expert in this buſineſs, and make uſe of the rule, the plane, the compaſſes, &c.

The ſixth are the Ompaniavi, or Rope-makers. They make their ropes of different kinds of bark of trees, and likewiſe of hemp.

The ſeventh, Ampan lamba, or Weavers. This buſineſs is performed by women only, and it would be reckoned diſgraceful in a man to exerciſe it.

The Ombiaſſes are the Literary men and Phyſicians, who give advice only.

The Herauvitz are Comedians and Dancers.

THEIR DWELLING PLACES AND BUILDINGS.

The Madagaſcar people always live in ſociety; that is to ſay, in towns and villages. The towns are ſurrounded by a ditch and palliſades, at the extremities of which a guard of from twelve to twenty armed men is kept. The houſes of private people conſiſt of a convenient cottage, ſurrounded by ſeveral ſmall ones: the maſter of the houſe dwells in the largeſt, and his women, or ſlaves, lodge in the ſmaller. Theſe houſes are built of wood, covered with leaves of the palm-tree, or ſtraw.

The houſes of the great men of the country are very ſpacious; each houſe is compoſed of two walls, and four apartments: round about the principal houſe, other ſmaller

habitations are built, for the accommodation of the women, and the whole family of the chief; but the ſlaves cannot paſs the night within them. Moſt of the houſes inhabited by the Rohandrians, are built with taſte, and admirable ſymmetry.

Here ends the THIRD VOLUME, according to the diviſion made by the COUNT; and in this place he has written the following in French.

"End of the THIRD and LAST VOLUME," with his cypher, or abridged ſignature, annexed; and underneath

"I, the underſigned, do certify, that the preſent work, drawn out in three "volumes, in twelve quires, is the true original."

Signed,

"MAURICE AUGUSTE C^te DE BENYOWSKY.

COPIES

COPIES

OF THE

MINISTERIAL LETTERS OF FRANCE,

OF

THE OATH OF THE MADAGASCAR NATION

TO THE

COUNT DE BENYOWSKY:

HIS ELECTION TO THE DIGNITY OF AMPANSACABE, HIS FULL POWER TO TREAT IN EUROPE, HIS DECLARATION MADE IN ENGLAND, AND HIS PROPOSALS TO THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

Colonies. India Office.

Copy of the principal piece relating to the expedition to Madagaſcar.

Verſailles, March 19, 1773.

SIR,

THE King, by attaching you to his ſervice, is deſirous of putting it in your power to give proofs of your zeal: in conſequence of this diſpoſition, his Majeſty has made choice of you to form an eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar, which

which appears to him to be abſolutely neceſſary, to procure the requiſite ſupplies to the iſle of France. This eſtabliſhment may be productive of conſequences of ſtill greater moment, and more worthy of that zeal which animates you for the glory of the King. I cannot do better, in order to inform you of his Majeſty's views, than to ſend you a copy of a letter, which I wrote by his order, to the Chevalier de Ternay and Maillart. It contains the inſtructions conformably to which you are to act. The correſpondence which you will maintain with Meſſrs. De Ternay and Maillart, reſpecting the details of your operations, muſt not diſpenſe you from rendering me a direct account of every ſtep you may take for the ſucceſs of the important and honourable miſſion his Majeſty has been pleaſed to entruſt to your care; and I beg that you will inform me of every thing relating thereto. I have the honour to be, very ſincerely,

SIR,

Your moſt humble,

and moſt obedient ſervant,

To M. the Baron de Benyowſky.

DE BOYNES.

Copy

Colonies. India Office.

N° E×E. Expedition to Madagaſcar.

Copy of a Letter from M. De Boynes to Meſſrs. De Ternay and Maillart, dated March 19, 1773.

YOU are acquainted, gentlemen, with the project which Mr. De Maudave cauſed to be adopted in 1767, of forming a colony of Europeans at Madagaſcar, to civilize the inhabitants of that iſland, and accuſtom them to our manners and uſages. It was ſoon perceived that this eſtabliſhment was founded on falſe principles, and it was given up on account of the impoſſibility of affording the advances of every kind, which M. De Maudave required in favour of the new coloniſts.

Notwithſtanding the bad ſucceſs of this attempt, it cannot be diſputed that the iſland of Madagaſcar contains very great reſources, and that it would be uſeful to have an eſtabliſhment there; but inſtead of a colony, the ſight of which would too openly offend the rights of property, to be received with pleaſure by a people compoſed of herdſmen and cultivators of the ground, nothing more ought to be attempted than a ſimple poſt, in favour of which, uſeful connections might be formed with the chiefs of the country, with whom a trade might be carried on in the way of barter, that would put an end to the abuſe of purchaſing with money. It will depend upon the abilities of the perſon to whom the care of this enterprize may be entruſted, to ex-

tend his connections into the internal parts of the iſland, by which new branches of trade may be opened; and it is from his prudent conduct that we may hope to arrive at the end propoſed by M. De Maudave, and form a colony ſo much the more firmly eſtabliſhed, as it will be founded on the intereſt of the iſlanders themſelves, and the confidence they may have been inſpired with. Laſtly, while our views are confined to the carrying on a trade, as has hitherto been done, by diſmiſſing every idea of dominion and ſovereignty, it will always be of importance to have a fixed poſt to direct the operations of individuals, and maintain a juſt balance between them and the natives of the country. No perſon has appeared more capable of carrying his Majeſty's intentions into effect, than M. Baron de Benyowſky. In the courſe of his travels by ſea, he has learned the manner of treating with ſavage people; and to a great ſhare of firmneſs, he has joined that mildneſs of character, which ſuits a deſign of this nature.

It is therefore the King's intention to ſend him to Madagaſcar, with the forces over which he has given him the command; leaving him at liberty to chuſe the moſt convenient place for the eſtabliſhment which his Majeſty has determined to form.

His Majeſty excepts only fort Dauphin, notwithſtanding the ſalubrity of the air, becauſe this part of the iſland is very dry, and poſſeſſes no commercial reſources. It is pretended, that Tamatava, on the eaſt coaſt, is the moſt proper place for an eſtabliſhment; as well on account of the goodneſs of the harbour, as the diſpoſition of the inhabitants; together with the fertility of the ſoil, and the ſupplies of every kind which it affords. M. De Benyowſky will himſelf judge of

theſe

theſe advantages; but in the uncertainty of the place where he may think proper to fix himſelf, it is indiſpenſibly neceſſary that he ſhould have a ſmall veſſel, to run along the coaſt, and make every neceſſary ſearch for inſuring the ſucceſs of the eſtabliſhment he is charged to form. It is with this view that his Majeſty has purchaſed the brigantine the Poſtillion, which may be employed in tranſporting part of M. De Benyowſky's people to Madagaſcar, and may afterwards remain ſubject to his orders, with the Sieur Saunier. This officer has made ſeveral voyages to Madagaſcar, and is therefore qualified to aſſiſt the operations of M. De Benyowſky.

As to the reſt, M. De Benyowſky will find every other aſſiſtance he may want, in his troops: they have been ſelected with the greateſt care; are all ſtrong and robuſt young men, of different trades, in order that M. De Benyowſky may not find any embarraſſment in the works he may undertake. On the other hand, I have given orders to forward to you, tents as well for the officers as for the ſoldiers, that they may encamp wherever M. De Benyowſky may think proper, without injuring the inhabitants. M. De Benyowſky will employ the geographical engineer, who accompanies him, to make exact plans of the coaſt, with the courſes of rivers, and maps of ſuch interior parts of the iſland as he may have acceſs to. The King has likewiſe appointed a ſurgeon, for the treatment of the ſick, to whom M. Maillart may give an aſſiſtant; ſo that there will be no other perſons wanting, but an officer of Adminiſtration, a ſtorekeeper, a treaſurer for the order and management of expences, and an almoner for ſpiritual ſervice.

From the character which has been received of M. De Maiſonville, he has been choſen to accompany M. De Benyowſky, and perform the functions of commiſſary; and his Majeſty has been pleaſed, on this conſideration, to grant him the brevet of ſub-commiſſary. His Majeſty refers the choice of a treaſurer and ſtorekeeper to M. Maillart, and that of almoner to the apoſtolical prefect. M. Maillart will conſider, whether one perſon may not have the charge of the caſh and the ſtores.

Such is the plan, according to which the operations of M. De Benyowſky are to be conducted. It will occaſion no extraordinary expence to the King, and will produce a real aſſiſtance to the iſle of France, as the troops of M. De Benyowſky may be maintained much more eaſily and cheaply at Madagaſcar, than on the iſle of France. As ſoon as M. De Benyowſky ſhall arrive in the colony, the Chevalier de Ternay ſhall ſupply him with recruits, which are deſigned for him, according to the liſts drawn out at their embarkation, to be formed into a new troop, which M. De Benyowſky ſhall exerciſe; and you will be pleaſed afterwards to give him, upon his requeſt, the neceſſary orders for tranſporting them to Madagaſcar, and diſembarking them at the place which ſhall be determined upon by M. De Benyowſky.

Notwithſtanding the neceſſity of abſtaining, with the greateſt care, from every attack upon the inhabitants of Madagaſcar; and though the expreſs orders of M. De Benyowſky are to employ no other means with regard to them, but thoſe of mildneſs and negociation, and to maintain his people in the moſt exact diſcipline; yet it would not be prudent to expoſe him in the midſt of thoſe iſlanders, who

who are jealous of their liberty, and naturally reſtleſs and ſuſpicious, without putting it in his power to repel any act of violence on their part.

The forces he may be ſupplied with, may likewiſe enable him to gain, with greater facility, the confidence and friendſhip of ſuch chiefs as may have occaſion to require his aſſiſtance in their own domeſtick quarrels.

He demands twelve pieces of cannon, ſix twelve-pounders, four eight-pounders, ſix pateraroes and two ſmall mortars, with their bombs; five hundred granades, three barrels of gunpowder, one of battle powder, five hundred pounds weight of ſulphur, and the ſame quantity of ſaltpetre, with four thouſand weight of lead, and moulds for making bullets. You will ſee whether it be practicable, in the preſent ſituation of your ſtores, to deliver theſe articles to him. Some of theſe may be employed in his trade with the natives; and it would be of advantage that you ſhould add, with the ſame intention, other articles equally ſought after by the inhabitants of Madagaſcar, ſuch as muſquets, piſtols, hatchets, nails, bars of iron, copper, ſome pieces of cloth; and, in general, every thing ſuitable to the trade. M. De Benyowſky will require, for his own uſe, a ſet of carpenter's and cabinet-maker's tools. The ſtorekeeper, whom M. Maillart may chuſe, ſhall charge himſelf with all theſe effects, and account for them in the uſual form.

As it may be preſumed, that it will be near the bad ſeaſon of the year when M. De Benyowſky and his people may arrive at Madagaſcar, it will be of conſequence to provide for the ſubſiſtence and payment of his troops, during the time in which they can hold no communication

with the iſle of France; M. Maillart will therefore remit a ſufficient ſum to the treaſurer for ſix months pay, and provide the ſtorekeeper with wine and brandy for the ſame time; together with flour, and ſalt proviſions, for three months only, becauſe reſources of this laſt kind will not be wanting at Madagaſcar, as ſoon as they ſhall have fixed their eſtabliſhment. Other articles of conſumption may be afforded from the magazine, according to the tarif which you may draw up before the departure of M. De Benyowſky.

If this expedition be attended with the ſucceſs, which there is reaſon to expect from the zeal and intelligence of M. De Benyowſky, it will procure very plentiful ſupplies to the iſle of France; taking care, nevertheleſs, to prevent the ſhips of private traders from approaching that point of the iſland where M. De Benyowſky ſhall have ſettled, and to ſend only ſuch veſſels as are appointed to fetch the ſlaves and cattle, collected in conſequence of the trade carried on on the King's account; and, at the ſame time, without ſuffering the officers who command theſe veſſels to carry any private trade. The orders of M. De Benyowſky are poſitive in this reſpect, and he is charged to ſee them put ſtrictly into execution. By this means, the augmentation of price, which is produced by the concurrence of veſſels, will be prevented, and an end will be put to the pernicious abuſe of paying in money, by ſeizing thoſe times when the iſlanders are in want of our merchandizes, which cannot be done by private veſſels that ſail along the coaſt, and aim at little more than to cover the expences of fitting out.

M. De Maiſonville being empowered, in quality of Commiſſary, to direct all the operations of the commercial in-

tercourſe upon the King's account, at the place where M. De Benyowſky may ſettle, it is of importance that he ſhould have with him a truſty perſon under his orders, with two interpreters, who may ſerve at the ſame time in the negociations which M. De Benyowſky may enter into with the chiefs of the country.

M. De Maillart will pleaſe to be no leſs careful in the choice of theſe perſons, than of the others, whoſe nomination have been left to him; becauſe their influence may equally affect the ſucceſs of the views I have explained.

Of all the means which could be imagined to procure the neceſſary ſupplies to the iſle of France, which are wanting to increaſe its cultivation and inſure its ſubſiſtence, there are certainly none better adapted to the purpoſe, and at the ſame time leſs chargeable to the King; and his Majeſty depends upon your ſeconding the efforts of M. De Benyowſky with the greater earneſtneſs, from the reflection, that if the continual reſidence at Madagaſcar ſhould effect a happy revolution in the minds and manners of its inhabitants; and if ſucceſs ſhould follow the attempt to inſpire them with a taſte for our productions, our works, and our manufactures, a market will be formed at the iſle of France for a trade which will be an abundant ſource of riches and proſperity. Theſe motives ought to excite all your zeal; and you cannot act more agreeably to the wiſhes of his Majeſty, than by reſtoring to the iſle of France thoſe reſources, of which it has been deprived by the abuſes which have crept into the trade of Madagaſcar, and by that means to clear it of its dependance on foreign colonies for ſubſiſtence. I have the honour to be, &c.

Verſailles,

Colonies. India Office.

Proviſions.

Verſailles, July 2d, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

I Send you, by his Majeſty's corvette, La Sirene, an aſſortment of victualling ſtores, furniſhed by M. to whom I have given a commiſſion for that purpoſe.

This forms only a part of M. De Benyowſky's demand; but I propoſe to forward the reſt by the ſhips which ſail at the end of the year. M. Des Aſſizes, or the officer of Adminiſtration who may repreſent him, muſt be careful that the effects be carried to the ſtorehouſe, and duly acknowledged by a receipt from the ſtorekeeper; after which they may be diſtributed in the colony, care being firſt taken to examine them by the invoice which accompanies this. He will likewiſe ſee that they be not delivered out, except to his orders, which will prevent abuſes in the conſumption.

As to the reſt, you will find no difficulty reſpecting the conduct it is neceſſary you ſhould adhere to, provided you conform to the common inſtructions which you have received in my diſpatches. I have the honour to be, very truly,

GENTLEMEN,

Your very humble, and moſt obedient ſervant,

DE SARTINE.

To Meſſrs. Baron de Benyowſky,
and M. Des Aſſizes.

Colonies. India Office.

In form of Inſtruction relating to paſt and future Conduct.

Verſailles, July 17th, 1775.

THE commander of the Poſtillion has brought me all your diſpatches, from your arrival at the bay of Antongil until the 24th of laſt September. I have very minutely attended to the detail of your operations, during the firſt eight months; and I ſee, with ſatisfaction, that Government may conceive favourable hopes from your proſpects, and your firſt proceedings with the inhabitants of Madagaſcar.

The ſucceſs of this important enterprize, in effect, depends on the prudent and conciliatory means which you have continued to employ with the natives of the country. They are gentle, laborious, and diſpoſed to trade, and aſſociate with us; but the different attempts which have hitherto been made on the iſland, and which have either been attended with great violence to the natives, or expence to Government, puts you under the preſent neceſſity of continually multiplying your precautions, to prevent treachery, and every inimical enterprize, on the part of the Malgachee, who, like all uncivilized people, are jealous of their liberty. Theſe iſlanders will be always diſpoſed to be apprehenſive of the conſequences of a permanent eſtabliſhment, if they be not treated with kindneſs, or if any humiliating

miliating diſtinction be made between them and the Europeans. The temptation of a commerce, which is become agreeable and advantageous to them, may have ſeduced them at firſt; but it is to be feared, that they will become jealous of the advantages which the ſuperiority of our knowledge and power muſt give us over them: you cannot, therefore, be too attentive to the manner in which you behave to them.

Theſe conſiderations have always entered into the views of utility, which have determined the miniſtry to entruſt you with the care of an enterprize, which may actually require conſiderable aſſiſtance; but his Majeſty has determined to reſerve the communication of his intentions until the end of the year. In the mean time, I ſend the corvette, La Sirene, to bring you the firſt ſupplies of officers of health, workmen, money, proviſions, and merchandize, as much as the tonnage of the veſſel would admit. I confined myſelf, therefore, to the indiſpenſible, until I can enter more fully into the ſubject, and comprehend all the parts of the ſervice which an eſtabliſhment of this nature requires; you will then receive recruits, which I have already ordered to be raiſed, with a greater quantity of proviſions, and other articles requeſted in your diſpatches, to which I ſhall more particularly reply in future.

His Majeſty, by his determination of fitting out the corvette, La Sirene, and approving that I ſhould ſend you an almoner, two ſurgeons, with ſome ſoldiers and workmen, ſufficiently apprizes you that his intention is, that you ſhould continue to apply your whole attention to the eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar, and the preſervation of his ſubjects, in order that you may be able to adminiſter, with ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, that aſſiſtance which ſhall be neceſſary, to ſuch as ſtill feel the effects of the intemperature of the climate, which has hitherto been ſo fatal to your people. I wait with great impatience for news concerning the return of this ſeaſon; and am continually apprehenſive that the ſickly time of the year has taken off the greateſt part of your people, and forced you to abandon the bay of Antongil, and retire with your people to the place you diſtinguiſh by the name of the Plain of Health. I am perſuaded, however, that you will make every effort to preſerve, to the utmoſt of your power, all the poſts you have eſtabliſhed within the iſland, or upon the coaſt. Beſides which, I invite you to continue firm and conſtant in your enterprize, notwithſtanding the obſtacles and inconveniences you have experienced, which are always inſeparable from an infant eſtabliſhment. The more preſſing your ſituation may become, the leſs I ſhall loſe ſight of you; and you may depend upon my attention, and the diſpoſitions of his Majeſty with reſpect to you: he has authorized me to aſſure you of the ſame, and has charged me to exhort you to proceed with unabated zeal. His Majeſty, however, diſapproves your having ſent Madagaſcar ſlaves to the Cape of Good Hope. He recommends to you to be more circumſpect in your operations, eſpecially with reſpect to the colony of the iſle of France, with which you ought to endeavour to trade, in preference to any other of his Majeſty's colonies, and more eſpecially to a foreign colony; ſo that all your diſpoſitions ſhould be ſubſervient to the good of his Majeſty's ſervice. I cannot too ſtrongly recommend to you, to uſe the greateſt œconomy

nomy. in your expences, and to give M. Des Aſſizes every explanation which may be neceſſary to regulate thoſe which preceded his arrival; to leave entirely to him the adminiſtration of the finances, and the diſpoſition of the ten thouſand piaſtres, which the corvette, La Sirene, will bring; and, in a word, to conduct yourſelf towards him with that reſpect and delicacy, which are neceſſary to maintain that good union and harmony, which are ſo eſſential to the welfare of his Majeſty's ſervice.

I have the honour to be,

Very truly,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

DE SARTINE.

P. S. In the hand of his lordſhip.

I have received your letter of the 1ſt of November. When you ſhall have received the two ſurgeons I ſend you, you may return thoſe to the iſle of France who have been ſent by Mr. Maillart, if you find that thoſe who come from France are better informed in ſuch matters as may be uſeful to you. I ſhall provide for the reſt of your affairs without delay; but I cannot too ſtrongly recommend to you, that

your accounts be regularly kept; œconomy be attended to; and that you keep on good terms with the commiſſary. I do not ſay any thing with regard to the preſervation of his Majeſty's ſubjects, as you cannot but be aware of its importance, and are more ſtrongly intereſted in it than any one elſe.

Colonies. India Office.

Relating to the Death of ſeveral Officers, and of Meſſrs. Marin, the father and ſon.

Verſailles, July 23, 1775.

SIR,

I Have received your letter of the 20th of September, 1774, in which I cannot, without the moſt ſenſible regret, obſerve the conſiderable loſs you have ſuffered of your officers. The loſs of your lieutenant-colonel, M. Marin, afflicts me more ſenſibly, as well on account of the reputation he had acquired in Canada, as becauſe he might have contributed, together with yourſelf, to the ſucceſs of the eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar. Though I am ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſpeedily replacing this officer, I have not been deſirous of precipitating my choice, becauſe it is eſſential that he who is appointed to ſecond and to ſhare your labours, ought to poſſeſs the talents neceſſary to an employment of this importance. It will be the end of the year before I can ſend you a lieutenant-colonel; but I promiſe you before-hand, that I will uſe the utmoſt attention to ſend one who ſhall be capable of imitating the example of courage and firmneſs you will ſet him.

Your letter of the 18th of September, 1774, in which youpropoſe perſons to the vacant employments, is likewiſe

come to hand. I refer to the ſame time, the formation of a new corps of officers under you, in which, however, it will not be poſſible to comprehend all thoſe whom you propoſe; not only becauſe I have a great number of reformed officers, whom it will be juſt to employ in preference, but likewiſe becauſe the advancement you propoſe for ſeveral of your volunteers, would be much too ſudden. But I ſhall pay every reſpect to your propoſals which circumſtances and principles will allow.

I have the honour to be,

Very truly,

SIR,

Your very humble, and moſt obedient ſervant,

DE SARTINE.

Verſailles,

Colonies. India Office.
N° 18.

Verſailles, March 30, 1777.

SIR,

I Received your letter of the 2d of June, 1776, N° 4, in anſwer to mine of the 17th of July, 1775. My fears leſt you ſhould be forced to abandon the bay of Antongil, are happily diſſipated; and I ſee, on the contrary, that you have increaſed and extended additional poſts, by making new conqueſts. Although ſucceſs has hitherto always crowned your attempts, I ſhould be much better ſatisfied to hear that you avail yourſelf of the means of mildneſs and perſuaſion, to ſubject the iſlanders: military exploits exhauſt your troops, are expenſive, and may ſome time be attended with unhappy conſequences. I know, on the other hand, that you have not always had the power over events; but from the details contained in your letter, I ſee, with pleaſure, that your warlike expeditions are at an end; and I have reaſon to believe that you will now employ yourſelf, ſolely, in the care of keeping the peace, and civilizing the people ſubject to your command. The principal object of your miſſion being agriculture and commerce, you muſt be ſenſible that you cannot make either flouriſh, but by the exertions of the natives. Now, in order to turn their attention to thoſe objects, it is neceſſary that, by avoiding

avoiding the troubles of war yourſelf, you preſent to them the view of greater advantages, to ariſe from a ſure and laſting union, than from rendering each other ſlaves.

I have the honour to be,

Very truly,

SIR,

Your very humble, and moſt obedient ſervant,

DE SARTINE.

Verſailles,

Colonies. India Office.

N° 19.

Verſailles, March 30, 1777.

SIR,

THE letters you wrote on the 10th and 24th of April, 1776, have arrived. Annexed to the former, I find the diſcourſe which you pronounced at the aſſembly of officers of your corps; and to the ſecond, the manifeſto and declaration of war, which you have thought proper to publiſh againſt the Your poſition at that period was moſt critical. I ſee that you had only a ſmall body of troops to oppoſe to the multitude of your enemies; and I conſidered, with regret, that the ſupplies I had ſent you by the Sirenne, had not then arrived. Though that veſſel brought no recruits, yet the money on board, and my diſpatches, would at leaſt have diſpelled your anxieties. The policy you have employed on this occaſion, and the reſolution you adopted to march out and meet the enemy, rather than wait for him in your lines, are very honourable, both to your prudence and your courage. I muſt particularly acknowledge the pleaſure I received from the account of your march, and the plan of your campaign; alſo the ſtill greater pleaſure I received from hearing of the ſucceſs of your operations.

I have the honour to be, very truly,

SIR,

Your very humble, and moſt obedient ſervant,

To M. the Baron de Benyowſky.
N° 14.

DE SARTINE.

Colonies. India Office.

N° 20.

Verſailles, April 6, 1777.

SIR,

I Learn with pleaſure, from your letter of the 1ſt of January, 1776, that you have had the good fortune to eſcape the influence of the climate of Madagaſcar, and that your convaleſcence has placed you in a ſituation to give me a more ample account of your operations, than thoſe which you have addreſſed to M. De Boines, by the Sieur Saunier.

His Majeſty being informed of the meaſures which you had taken to diſſipate the league which threatened the ſettlement at Louiſbourg, appeared ſatisfied with the zeal you ſhewed on that occaſion. This confederacy ſhews that you have, perhaps, depended too much upon the pacific diſpoſitions of ſeveral chiefs, whom you conſidered as the friends of Government. Theſe chiefs, who do not behold without concern the exertions we make to form an eſtabliſhment in their country, will, on their ſide, employ every manœuvre to drive us thence. You ought, therefore, to be continually on your guard againſt their ſnares; to miſtruſt even thoſe who appear to be the moſt ſincerely devoted to you; and to maintain no poſt which you cannot defend againſt the ſudden attacks you will be expoſed to for a long time to come. The object of your miſſion, is

not ſo much that of extending yourſelf in the iſland of Madagaſcar, as of maintaining your footing there. As ſoon as you ſhall be firmly eſtabliſhed in the poſt, which you actually poſſeſs in the bay of Antongil, I hope that the neighbouring inhabitants, attracted at firſt by trade, will perceive the mildneſs of our laws, and will of themſelves ſubmit to a Government, whoſe ſuperiority they will perceive, and of whoſe advantage they will be deſirous.

Theſe are the only means which his Majeſty authorizes: every thing which tends to deſtruction, is repugnant to his benevolence; and he would rather wait for the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the Madagaſcar people, inſtead of owing it to his arms; and he does not approve of the wars you have to ſupport, except ſo far as you may be able to juſtify them in his ſight, by the neceſſity of a lawful defence. I exhort you, therefore, Sir, not to depart from theſe principles; and acquaint you, that I ſhall always receive much greater ſatisfaction from the news of a ſolid treaty of peace, than of a brilliant conqueſt. The impatience you expreſs reſpecting the ſupplies, which have been announced to you, is very natural; but the King, before he permits them to be forwarded to you, is deſirous of being informed of the preſent ſtate of the ſettlement, at the bay of Antongil; the certain advantages which may be derived therefrom; and more eſpecially of the poſſibility of forming it without engaging in wars, or too evidently expoſing the lives of his ſubjects. The inſpection of Meſſrs. De Bellecombe and Chevreau is directed to this object; and I daily expect their obſervations that I may propoſe to his Majeſty, either to ſupport it in an effectual manner, or to abandon entirely the works you have made.

I do not conceal, that the diſorders which prevail in the place where you are ſettled, and have carried off ſo many of your men, give me the greateſt uneaſineſs; and I am not fully ſatisfied with what you have done to deſtroy them. The filling up of the marſh, is doubtleſs a very wiſe precaution; but the ſucceſs is not infallible, and it may, at the utmoſt, ſerve to correct the influence of the climate in a ſlight degree, if the diſorders depend on that cauſe. This is a point which remains to be cleared up, concerning which I have not yet received ſufficient explanation; for though your loſſes have been leſs conſiderable during the latter years, this may perhaps ariſe not from the air of the bay of Antongil having become purer, but merely from its being leſs pernicious to men who are accuſtomed to it. Eſtimates ſhould be made from thoſe who newly arrive; and it is from them that the effects of your operations may be aſcertained, by an exact calculation.

I ſee with pain, Sir, the conteſts you have had with the Adminiſtration of the iſle of France; and the King has expreſſed great diſpleaſure on this head. They have not only injured the ſervice of his Majeſty, but have given riſe to letters, on your part, which were not ſufficiently weighed and conſidered. It is not from obſcure reports that you ought to form a judgment of the ſentiments of Meſſrs. Ternay and Maillart. If you had reaſon to complain of them, you were ſure of finding me diveſted of all prejudice, and diſpoſed to render you juſtice: beſides which, your reaſons, if well founded, would have loſt none of their force for being urged with leſs bitterneſs; and you would have obſerved that politeneſs, which men in place mutually owe to each other, and which cannot be laid aſide

without giving juſt cauſe for reprehenſion. I have thought this obſervation neceſſary, in order that you may conduct yourſelf in future in a manner more conformable to my views; and that, by ſtifling every ſecret reſentment in your breaſt, you may attach yourſelf to do and to write nothing, but what may conciliate the affection of the adminiſtrators, with whom you correſpond, and contribute to accompliſh his Majeſty's intentions, in the command he has been pleaſed to entruſt to you.

I have the honour to be,

Very truly, &c.

M. the Baron de Benyowſky.

DE SARTINE.

India

India Office.
N° 21.

(No date in M.S.)

SIR,

I Have received your letter of the 2d of June, 1776. The anxiety you expreſs reſpecting his Majeſty's flute La Sirene, was unhappily too well founded. You muſt have ſince heard of the loſs of that veſſel; and what is ſtill more diſtreſſing, of the greateſt part of her people. With regard to the effects and money, which I forwarded to you by that conveyance, Mr. Maillart has been attentive to replace them; and Meſſrs. De Bellecombe and Chevreau muſt have brought a ſupply for the immediate wants of the ſettlement. I hope, therefore, that the ſupplies you have received will enable you to proceed, until I can declare his Majeſty's determination concerning your final operations, if they are intended to take place. The uncertainty which ſtill remains in this reſpect, engages me to write only ſhort anſwers; but when his Majeſty ſhall have given me his final orders, if his intention be to continue the eſtabliſhment at the bay of Antongil, I will then give you the moſt ample inſtructions concerning the conduct you ought to follow, with reſpect to the accounts, which makes the principal object of your letter; and I will ſend you ſuch people, as I am ſenſible you muſt be in want of, in order that this eſſential part of the ſervice may not be neglected, but invariably kept with exactneſs and regularity. In the mean time, I recommend to you to keep accurate

accounts

accounts of your expences; to look to the preſervation of his Majeſty's property, and not to permit any diſpoſal of the ſame, without your conſent; in order that you may be enabled to give me reaſons for the uſes to which it ſhall have been applied, and that I may judge whether the œconony I have ordered is punctually attended to.

I have received, together with your letter, the memoir you mention, concerning the fevers of the bay of Antongil; but the ink you have made uſe of is ſo bad, that the writing is almoſt entirely obliterated, and cannot be made out; I therefore beg you will ſend me another copy the firſt opportunity.

I have read, with pleaſure, the reflections you have preſented to me, reſpecting the colony at Madagaſcar. I think with you, that the ſlave trade would be its ruin, and that all the views ought to be directed to trade and agriculture. I had already conſigned theſe truths in the particular inſtructions of Meſſrs. De Bellecombe and Chevreau, ſo that you will not have had any difficulty in bringing them to approve your principles, which do not differ from mine. I do not much differ from you with regard to the Europeans; but this queſtion will not be entirely reſolved, until I can poſitively aſſure you that his Majeſty intends to have a colony at Madagaſcar.

I have the honour to be, very truly,

SIR,

Your very humble, and moſt obedient ſervant,

DE SARTINE.

To M. the Baron de Benyowſky.
N° 15.

Immediately

*** Immediately after the correſpondence there follows, in the M.S. a copy of the ACT OF OATH, with the names of the chiefs preſent; and alſo a copy of the FULL POWERS. Theſe agree with the ſame copies at pages 268 and 280 of this volume; excepting a few immaterial verbal variations, and the dates. The date of the Oath, in the laſt copy, is October 1, 1776; and of the Powers, October 3, 1781. Whether the difference between theſe and the dates in the Memoirs, be intentional, or founded in miſtake, I ſhall not attempt to conjecture: it did not appear neceſſary to re-print them in this place.

DECLARA-

DECLARATION

OF THE

COUNT MAURICE DE BENYOWSKY.

THE Count de Benyowſky, Magnate by birth of Hungary, who has the honour to preſent the annexed propoſitions to his Britannic Majeſty, has been charged, on the part of his late Majeſty Lewis XV. to form an eſtabliſhment upon the iſland of Madagaſcar, in the year 1772, with orders to contract treaties of commerce and friendſhip with the natives of the country. He followed his miſſion for five years, and having accompliſhed it, he acquainted the Court of Verſailles with his ſucceſs; but the French miniſtry, being deſirous of changing the treaties of commerce and friendſhip into an unlimited ſubmiſſion, on the part of the chiefs and people of the iſland, ſent orders to the Count de Benyowſky to change the ſyſtem agreed upon, and to eſtabliſh an unlimited ſuperiority, which could not be executed without infringing the primitive treaties concluded with the natives of the country: he thought proper, therefore, to forward his reſignation

to the Court, which immediately ſent Meſſrs. Bellecombe and Chevreau, in quality of commiſſaries and inſpectors for the King, to examine the conduct of Count de Benyowſky, who was found to be fully juſtified by the original inſtructions; and the commiſſaries of the King could not refuſe him a juſtificatory act. As ſoon as he had obtained this, he gave up his charge of Commandant and Governor-General, by entirely renouncing the ſervice of France. The chiefs and people of Madagaſcar being informed of the mortifications the Count De Benyowſky had received, and being deſirous of teſtifying their gratitude, aſſembled, and conferred upon him the charge of ſupreme Judge, and ſupreme Chief of the nation. Furniſhed with this title, he has obtained authority and power to treat in Europe, for the eſtabliſhment of connections, either of trade, intereſt, or friendſhip, in order to accelerate the civilization of the inhabitants of Madagaſcar. With this charge, the Count de Benyowſky returned to Europe, where he experienced a violent perſecution, on the part of the French miniſtry; to avoid which, he paſſed into the ſervice of his Majeſty, the Emperor, in hopes of obtaining from that Sovereign, the aſſiſtance he was in want of for Madagaſcar. But having ſoon received information, that the intereſts of his Imperial Majeſty were not calculated to accompliſh his engagements, he regularly quitted that ſervice; and, during two years, has employed himſelf in the execution of his charge. It is with this intention that he has the honour to preſent the annexed propoſals to his Britannic Majeſty.

His good fortune will be complete, if he ſhould ſucceed in intereſting his Majeſty, and ſhall obtain the aſſiſtance he is in need of, to accompliſh the deſires of an amiable and worthy nation, which has given him their unbounded confidence.

PROPO-

PROPOSALS

OF THE

COUNT MAURICE,

TO THE

MINISTRY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY.

TO BE PRESENTED AT LONDON, DECEMBER 25, 1783.

THE Count de Benyowſky, having obtained the powers and conſent of the chiefs and people of Madagaſcar, who have confided to him the charge of ſupreme Chief of the nation, being convinced of the advantages which would reſult to the intereſt of his Britannic Majeſty, the augmentation of the trade of his kingdoms, and the particular advantage of the civilization of the Madagaſcar people, in caſe a commercial intereſt were eſtabliſhed between the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty and the inhabitants of the iſland of Madagaſcar, PROPOSES,

and ſubmits unto his ſaid Britannic Majeſty, to cauſe him to be acknowledged Suzerain of that extenſive and vaſt iſland; the interior civil and political government, and all the other regulations of civilization, high police, cultivation, and commerce, remaining independant. It is in this only quality of vaſſals to his Majeſty, that the chiefs and people of Madagaſcar engage themſelves:—

I.

To furniſh his Majeſty, in caſe of any war in India, with five thouſand fighting men, led and commanded by their own officers; who ſhall be, in every reſpect, ſubject to the orders of the commander in chief of his Majeſty's forces, during the whole time they ſhall be abſent from the iſland, and employed againſt the enemies of his Majeſty.

II.

They oblige themſelves likewiſe to victual the ſquadrons of his Majeſty; and to furniſh, if required, the contingent of two thouſand ſeamen, to ſerve on board his Majeſty's ſhips in India.

III.

They ſtipulate, that they will conſtantly import ſuch European merchandizes only, as are of the product,

or manufacture of England. The population of Madagaſcar amounting to three millions of ſouls, their conſumption muſt neceſſarily augment the advantages of trade in favour of England.

IV.

As an acknowledgment of their liege homage, the chiefs and people of the iſland of Madagaſcar, oblige themſelves to pay annually a ſtipulated ſum, to ſerve as an appanage to one of the Princes, ſons of his Majeſty; but this acknowledgment cannot be paid until the fourth year after the ſigning of the treaty. In return for theſe advantages, the Count de Benyowſky demands, in the name of the united chiefs and people of Madagaſcar;—

1ſt. That his Majeſty do grant, in caſe of a foreign invaſion, ſupplies of arms, ſhipping, and warlike ſtores; the forces of Madagaſcar being, in other reſpects, ſufficient to repel any enemy on ſhore.

2dly. That his Majeſty do permit the free embarkation, in all his harbours, of ſuch foreigners (the French excepted) as ſhall be deſirous of paſſing to Madagaſcar, in order to dwell upon the ſaid iſland. With regard to French ſubjects, they cannot be received, but with the conſent of the repreſentative of the nation.

3dly.

3dly. That his Majeſty do grant to the Count de Benyowſky, one veſſel of four hundred and fifty tons; another of two hundred and fifty; and a third of one hundred and fifty tons; with cargoes and ſupplies of warlike ſtores, effects, and merchandizes, to the value of fifty thouſand pounds ſterling. The amount of this ſum will be placed to the account of the iſland of Madagaſcar; and its Adminiſtration will pay the intereſt for the ſpace of four years, and at the end of that term the capital ſum ſhall be reimburſed to his Majeſty. On theſe conditions the Count de Benyowſky offers to ſtipulate his ſubmiſſion, conformably to the articles herein before announced, on both ſides; and it will depend only on the pleaſure of his Majeſty, to nominate, and ſend one or more commiſſaries with the Count de Benyowſky to Madagaſcar, to conclude the definitive treaty.

Done at London, the year, month, and day, as herein before written.

After

*** After the copy of this inſtrument, the Count has written the following with his own hand, in French:

" NOTA. M. De Magellan, for his direction, will obſerve, that henceforth " every idea of Suzerainety muſt be baniſhed; and that, in future, it will be " proper to attend only to treaties of alliance, intereſt, and trade. It is with " this ſole view that we have conſigned to him the preſent regiſters.

" Done at London, the 24th of March, 1784.

" Signed,

MAURICE AUGUST. AMPANSACABE."

FINIS.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

Place the Plates according to their Titles in the following Order.

Vol. I.

The Map to face the Title Page.

The Grütlin Matte - -	to face p.	99
The Muſic of the Kühreigen -	———	100
The Valley of Lauterbrunn -	———	111
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